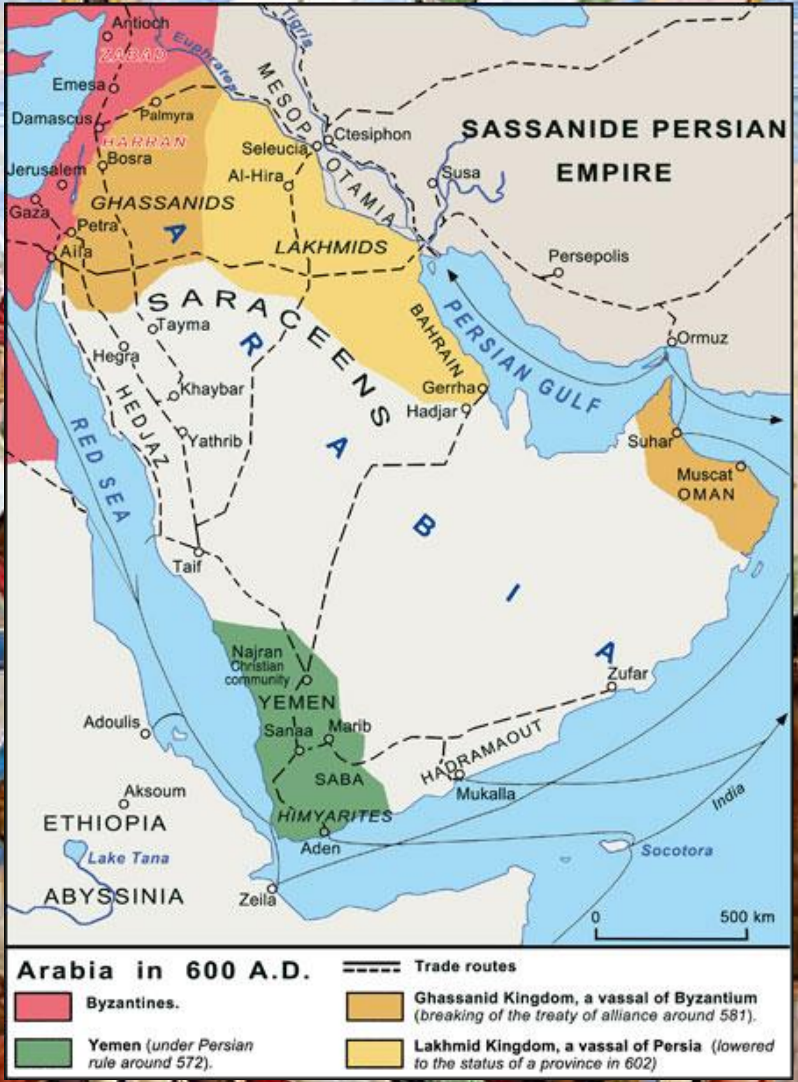
Origins of Islam: from Saracens, Arianism to Islam



Coins with Christian & Zoroastrian symbolics & Byzantine and Persian empire patterns

Coins with pre-Islamic / Islamic symbolism

Construction of the Third Temple in Jerusalem

Construction of the Dome of the Rock

ABBASIDS
khalifat rasul allah
Successors of the prophet Muhammad

UMAYYADS
Successors of the *muhammad*
(Abd al-Malik)
Successors of Abd al-Malik

ABD AL-MALIK
khalifat allah: **caliph of God**

Caliphs of God

Successors of Muhammad

ABDALLAH IBN AL-ZUBAYR
muhammad rasul allah: “may the one sent by God be desired"
Messianic acclamation for God’s envoy

Identification with the Messiah as a *muhammad* and as God’s envoy

Muhammad sent from God

GHASSANIDS
muhammad: **a new precursor? Jesus?**

MUAWIYA
abd allah: "servant of God"
amir al-mu'minin: "commander of the believers"
Intermediary between God and men

UTHMAN
bism allah
In the name of God

UMAR
al-faruq
The savior, the redeemer

Historical Muhammad(s)
mu-hamad (Arabic)
ish-hamudot (Hebrew)
"The man of predilections, he who is coveted"
(Dan 9:23; 10:11; 10:19)
The new Daniel, the forerunner, the precursor who announces the coming of the Messiah (the Messiah himself ?)

The savior

ALI & ALIDS
"Jesus speaks through my mouth".

Rashidun Caliphate (632–661) [edit]

Main articles: Rashidun and Rashidun Caliphate

Calligraphic name	Name (in Arabic)	Born (CE)	Reigned from (CE)	Reigned until (CE)	Died	Relationship with Muhammad	House
	Abu Bakr (أبو بكر الصديق)	573	8 June 632	22 August 634		Father of Aisha, Muhammad's wife	Banu Taim
	Umar (عمر بن الخطاب)	584	23 August 634	3 November 644 (assassinated by Abu Lu'lu'a Firuz)		Father of Hafsa, Muhammad's wife	Banu Adi
	Uthman (عثمان بن عفان)	579	11 November 644	20 June 656 (assassinated at the end of a siege upon his house; see First Fitna)		Husband of Muhammad's daughters, Ruqayya and later Umm Kulthum, and grandson of Muhammad's paternal aunt	Banu Ummaya
	Ali (علي بن أبي طالب)	601	20 June 656	29 January 661 (assassinated while praying in the Mosque of Kufa; see First Fitna)		Muhammad's cousin, and husband of Fatimah, Muhammad's daughter, and Umamah bint Zainab, Muhammad's granddaughter	Banu Hashim

Umayyad Caliphate (661–750) [edit]

...iaries between God and men

In the name of God

...MS
...ation continues through me”

www.thegreatsecretofislam.com

When Christians First Met Muslims

A Sourcebook of the Earliest Syriac Writings on Islam

Michael Philip Penn

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

In the same year, the emperor Constans issued a command and his brother Theodosius was killed—wrongly, for he was innocent, as many say. Many were distressed by his murder. It is said that the citizens [of Constantinople] made public denunciations against the emperor and called him a second Cain, a committer of fratricide. Greatly angered, [Constans] left his son
71 Constantine on the throne, took his queen and all the Romans' war-waging troops, and departed to the north against foreign peoples.

In the year 971 [660/61 C.E.], the eighteenth of Constans, many Arabs assembled in Jerusalem and made Muʿāwiya king. He ascended and sat at Golgotha. He prayed there, went to Gethsemane, descended to the tomb of the blessed Mary, and prayed there. In those days, while the Arabs were assembling there with Muʿāwiya, there was a tremor and a devastating earthquake. Most of Jericho collapsed, as did all of its churches. Mār John's house by the Jordon, where our savior was baptized, was uprooted from its foundations. So too the monastery of Abba Euthymius, along with the dwellings of many monks and solitaries, as well as many [other] places, collapsed during [the earthquake].

In the same year, in the month of July, the emirs and many [other] Arabs assembled and gave allegiance to Muʿāwiya. A command went out that he should be proclaimed king in all the villages and cities under his control and that they should make invocations and acclamations to him. He struck both gold and silver [coinage], but it was not accepted because it did not have a cross on it. Muʿāwiya also did not wear a crown like other kings in the world. He established his throne in Damascus but did not want to go to Muḥammad's throne.

The next year, on Wednesday morning, the thirteenth of April, ice fell and the white vines withered in it.

- *Byzantine empire pattern*
- *Byzantine emperor figure*
- *Christian symbols*

661-684

Christian symbolism

bism allah
"in the name of God

Umayyad fals (copper coin, 661-684)

David Collection, Denmark - https://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/umayyads/coins/c4

www.thegreatsecretofislam.com

Gadara (Hamat Gader) inscription, dated from 663 and mentioning Muawiya

663

The text is introduced by a **Christian cross** and refers to **Muawiya** as ΑΒΔΑΛΛΑ ('abdalla') and ΑΜΗΡΑΛΜΥΜΕΝΗΝ ('ameraalmoumenhene'), direct transliterations into the Greek alphabet of the Arabic expressions *abd allah* and *amir al-mu'minin*, "**servant of God**" and "**commander of the believers**

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The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor

Byzantine and Near Eastern History
AD 284-813

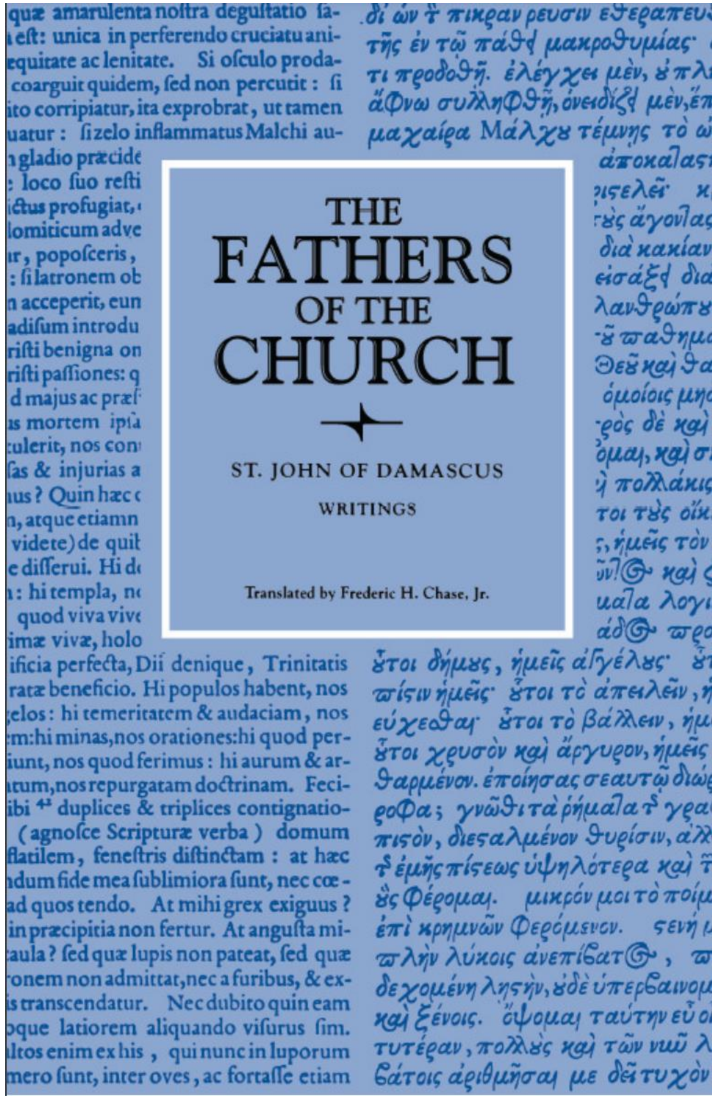
Translated with Introduction and Commentary by
CYRIL MANGO and ROGER SCOTT
with the assistance of Geoffrey Greatrex

CLARENDON PRESS • OXFORD
1997

Mouamed, leader of the Arabs (9 years), 9th year
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 22nd year
Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 22nd year
George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 12th year

333 IIn this year died Mouamed, the leader and false prophet of the Saracens, after appointing his kinsman Aboubacharos (to his chieftainship.II[1] At the same time his repute spread abroad) and everyone was frightened. At the beginning of his advent the misguided Jews thought he was the Messiah who is awaited by them, so that some of their leaders joined him and accepted his religion while forsaking that of Moses, who saw God. Those who did so were ten in number, and they remained with him until his murder.[2] But when they saw him eating camel meat, they realized that he was not the one they thought him to be, and were at a loss whatto do; being afraid to abjure his religion, those wretched men taught him illicit things directed against us, Christians, and remained with him.

III consider it necessary to give an account of this man's origin. He was descended from a very widespread tribe, that of Ishmael, son of Abraham; for Nizaros, descendant of Ishmael, is recognized as the father of them all. He begot two sons, Moudaros and Rabias. Moudaros begot Kourasos, Kaisos, Themimes, Asados, and others unknown.[3] All of them dwelt in the Midianite desert and kept cattle, themselves living in tents. There are also those farther away who are not of their tribe, but of that of Iektan, the so-called Amanites, that is Homerites. And some of them traded on their camels. Being destitute and an orphan, the aforesaid Mouamed decided to enter the service of a rich woman who was a relative of his, called Chadiga, as a hired
334 worker with a view to trading by camel in Egypt and Palestine. Little by little he became bolder and ingratiated himself with that woman, who was a widow, took her as a wife, and gained possession of her camels and her substance. Whenever he came to Palestine he consorted with Jews and Christians and sought from them certain scriptural matters. He was also afflicted with epilepsy. When his wife became aware of this, she was greatly distressed, inasmuch as she, a noblewoman, had married a man such as he, who was not only poor, but also an epileptic. He tried deceitfully to placate her by saying, 'I keep seeing a vision of a certain angel called Gabriel, and being unable to bear his sight, I faint and fall down.' Now, she had a certain monk[4] living there, a friend of hers (who had been exiled for his depraved doctrine), and she related everything to him, including the angel's name. Wishing to satisfy her, he said to her, 'He has spoken the truth, for this is the angel who is sent to all the prophets.' When she had heard the words of the



101. There is also the superstition of the Ishmaelites which to this day prevails and keeps people in error, being a forerunner of the Antichrist. They are descended from Ishmael, was was born to Abraham of Agar, and for this reason they are called both *Agarenes* and *Ishmaelites*. They are also called *Saracens*, which is derived from Σάῤῥας κενοί, or *destitute of Sara*, because of what Agar said to the angel: 'Sara hath sent me away destitute.'[99] These used to be idolaters and worshiped the morning star and Aphrodite, whom in their own language they called Khabár, which means *great*.[100] And so down to the time of Heraclius they were very great idolaters. From that time to the present a false prophet named Mohammed has appeared in their midst. This man, after having chanced upon the Old and New Testaments and likewise, it seems, having conversed with an Arian monk,[101] devised his own heresy. Then, having insinuated himself into the good graces of the people by a show of seeming piety, he gave out that a certain book had been sent down to him from heaven. He had set down some ridiculous compositions in this book of his and he gave it to them as an object of veneration.

He says that there is one God, creator of all things, who has neither been begotten nor has begotten.[102] He says that the Christ is the Word of God and His Spirit, but a creature and a servant, and that He was begotten, without seed, of Mary the sister of Moses and Aaron.[103] For, he says, the

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99 Cf. Gen. 16.8. Sozomen also says that they were descended from Agar, but called themselves descendants of Sara to hide their servile origin (*Ecclesiastical History* 6.38, *PG* 67.1412AB).

100 The Arabic *kabirun* means 'great,' whether in size or in dignity. Herodotus mentions the Arabian cult of the 'Heavenly Aphrodite' but says that the Arabs called her Alilat (Herodotus 1.131).

101 This may be the Nestorian monk Bahira (George or Sergius) who met the boy Mohammed at Bostra in Syria and claimed to recognize in him the sign of a prophet.

102 Koran, Sura 112.

103 Sura 19; 4.169.

could be construed as a reference to his receiving instruction from some monk before entrance to the monastery. If there had been a monk Cosmas such as the *Life* describes, the 'Thou hast nourished me . . . with the milk of Thy sacred words' would be a very inadequate expression from such a writer as the Damascene. Had there been such a person, the Damascene would have made more explicit mention of him.

From the foregoing we may conclude that John Mansur, known to us as St. John of Damascus, was the son of Sergius, a Christian tax-collector for the Omayyad Caliph of Damascus, Abd-Al-Malik (685-705), and grandson of an important Christian official who had been given the surname of Mansur. He probably succeeded his father in office at a fairly early age and served under Abd-Al-Malik and his successor, Al-Walid (705-715). Al-Walid was not so lenient with his Christian subjects as his predecessors had been and in particular he imposed restrictions upon the Christian treasury officials. The harsh policy of Al-Walid towards the Christians may well have been the determining factor in John's decision to embrace the monastic life. Sometime, then, probably before 715, he entered the Monastery of St. Sabbas near Jerusalem. There he devoted himself to the practice of asceticism and the study of the Fathers, becoming a protege of John V, Patriarch of Jerusalem, by whom he was called to the priesthood and ordained sometime before the year 726.

In 726, Leo the Isaurian's first edict against the Holy Images was published. The enforcement of this edict led to the resignation of the then Patriarch of Constantinople, St. Germanus, in 729. It was of that time that Theophanes relates: 'At that time John Chrysorrhoas flourished at Damascus in Syria, a priest and monk and a teacher most noble in both life and speech . . . And John together with

THE UMAYYAD DYNASTY'S CONVERSION TO ISLAM

Putting Muslim Traditions into the Historical Context
From the Low Point Until ca. 692 AD

A. J. Deus

Copyright: author A.J. Deus, June 2013, reviewed by: Richard Bulliet, Michael Cook, Marcin Grodzki, Robert Hoyland, Robert Kerr, Andrew Rippin, Mondher Sfar, Warren Treadgold, and Helmut Wagner.[1] I would like to express my thankfulness to all that have contributed to this article, either positively or critically. It is only through their collaboration that a provocative hypothesis has become a confident one.

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[1] The participation of any reviewer does not imply their consent to this article, either in part or in full.

Muhammad. This scenario not only defies human nature but also the reality of organized religion. From the beginning, Judaism and Christianity were in a state of perpetual fragmentation that was triggered by new books or ideas. The slightest deviations in beliefs tended to lead to fierce opposition and bloodshed, and it would thus be foolish to assume widespread agreement on a Koran that is intrinsically unclear.

Despite the risks to ridicule, one might question whether the "buried" traditions were *more* reliable — while remaining inadmissible — than the ones that portray unity and quick adoption of Islam. When, as a matter of curious exercise, the cards were swapped and the Jewish, Sabian, or Christian passages were selected and put in a context of the contemporary sources and the Koran's internal evidence, an entirely different history emerges. The accounts are indeed full of inner- or inter-caliphal division and religious strive that are embedded in greater sectarian conflicts in the Middle East.

The World at its Low Point

The struggle finds its continuance in the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD where Byzantine Orthodoxy had declared Jesus as both fully man *and* fully god. The Byzantines were determined to implement the new doctrine throughout Christianity at swordpoint, if needed. In the early sixth century, this led to the displacement of the Arian Lakhmids in Syria with the help of a new Byzantine ally, the Melkite[19] Ghassanids from the Western Arab Peninsula.[20] As new partners, the latter were lifted to royal vassal kings,[21] while the emigrating Ishmaelites turned into vengeful enemies from southern Iraq, also called Arabistan, or Hira. As new allies of Persia, they were lifted to Persian royal vassals and went on to help crushing Justinian's[22] superior army in 531 AD, leading to the *Eternal Peace* agreement. Justinian subjected the church in the Byzantine Empire and in parts of Italy to Roman law, made the universal faith state religion, and seized the treasures of the Arian churches.[23] Jews should enjoy no honors, and they were discriminated against in civil and religious rights. They were even forbidden to use the Hebrew language for their worship. What followed Justinian's terror was a mass exodus from the Byzantine Empire in all directions. Montanists, Sabbatians, Samaritans, and, before all, Jews and Arians turned into emigrates — millions of them. In response, the Jews in Yemen started killing Trinitarian Christians, which led to the former's expulsion by their Christian neighbors, prompting more Jewish emigrates. The Justinian Plague then depopulated entire areas in an unprecedented catastrophe and drove the superstitious survivors into even more religious extremism. Persia fought back and managed to occupy Syria, cutting the Melkite Ghassanids off from the Byzantine domains. In the confusing back and forth, the Persian and

[19] "Melkite" or "Melchite" is a later umbrella term for those that rejected the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. However, the label itself does not seem to have come into use before the Synod of Constantinople III in 681 AD. Hence, "Melkite" is anachronistically used for ease of understanding and continuance.

[20] Ibn Habib, Muh 370-71; cf. Ya'qubi 233, 235, from Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs, From the Bronze Age to the coming of Islam* (Routledge, 2002) 231-240.

[21] By Anastasius I, Byzantine Emperor from 491-518 AD.

[22] Justinian I was Byzantine Emperor from 527-565 AD.

[23] Corpus Juris Civilis (534 AD). This is a curious decision after multiple emperors from 381 AD onward had allegedly already established the Divine Trinity as state religion.

The Arians and semi-Arians believed in Jesus being man, had before been supported by the Persian Empire, and they had in turn assimilated Persian customs. They continued to vehemently oppose the Chalcedonian formula. Also, the Persian emperors had made sure that the Christians in the East remained religious enemies of the Byzantines. Their core would have been clustered around southern Iraq and the eastern Arab Peninsula with the patriarch located in Seleucia-Ctesiphon, which was in danger of conversion by Heraclius's conquest. Hence, the chair of the pope of the Eastern Church was held vacant for twenty years by the Persian Emperor. Only a few years earlier, the church had still firmly held on to its Nestorian foundation.[35]

The emperor also killed the last Lakhmid Ishmaelite king in Al-Hira and put Elijah bar Kabsha[36] in his place in order to prevent the Ishmaelites from converting to the Orthodox enemy camp. Elijah — a biblical name that cannot be lightly overlooked in an end of the world context[37] — is claimed to having led a revolt by the Lakhmid Ishmaelites in 610 AD and is said to having declared independence from Persia. This king vanished[38] as Muhammad appeared out of the cave of "Hira" in an obvious remembrance of the cave of Elijah where the ancient and the new prophet received revelations from Angel Gabriel. One might be tempted to speculate that the secession may have fallen together with Heraclius's victory over the Persians in 622 AD, releasing Al-Hira in 0 AH, later morphing into the year commemorating Hijra.[39] The latter is a perplexingly trivial event, not only in the grandiose life of Muhammad but in the context of the pivotal religio-political upheaval.

The Melkites advanced the geo-spiritual middle ground in Syria, where Jesus was man but his spirit was the word of God.[40] They also refused to submit to the new Orthodoxy and were strong in modern Syria and in the western Arab Peninsula.[41] According to John Bishop of Nikiù, the Jews on Byzantine territory were also to be force-converted to the Chalcedonian creed, lifting them to a potential partner in an allied Judaic opposition.

not indeed voluntarily apostatized, but they persecute those who agree not with them in faith. God forbid (such agreement)! for they are not servants of Christ: yet they think they are such in their thoughts.

34 John, Bishop of Nikiû, *Chronicles* (ca. 690 AD) CXXI, 2: And every one said: "This expulsion (of the Romans) and victory of the Moslem is due to the wickedness of the emperor Heraclius and his persecution of the Orthodox through the patriarch Cyrus. This was the cause of the ruin of the Romans and the subjugation of Egypt by the Moslem."

35 Synod of the Eastern Church, 605 AD, under Pope Mar Gregorius: W. St. McCullough, A Short History of Syriac Christianity, a.a.O. 151.

36 Eyas ibn Qabisah al-Ta'i (or Iyas ibn Qabisa, chief of Tayyi') ruled the Lakhmids 602-611 AD together with the Persian governor Nakirjan, followed by governor Azadhbeh 611-633 AD.
Thomas the Presbyter, *Chronicle* (ca. 640 AD) 147-148: "In the year 634 [...] there was a battle between the Romans and the tayyaye d-Mhmt [Lakhmids of Muhammad] in Palestine twelve miles east of Gaza […]"
A biological relationship seems to have been later reinterpreted as an adoption:
Safi ur Rahman Al Mubarakpuri, *The Sealed Nectar: Biography of the Noble Prophet* (Darussalam, 2002) 72: The Prophet was later entrusted to Halimah bint Abi Dhuaib from Bani Sa'd bin Bakr. Her husband was Al-Harith bin Abdul-Uzza called Abi Kabshah, from the same tribe.

37 Malachi 4:1-6: Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of Yahweh comes. He will turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, lest I come and strike the earth with a curse.

38 One of Muhammad's early aliases was Kabsha: Bukhari, ca. 864-870 AD (CMJE and the University of Southern California, 2007-2009) 6:60:75.

39 Through a different path, Robert M. Kerr, in Annus Hegirae vel Annus (H)Agarorum? (May 2012), comes to a similar conclusion that *A.H.* means *Year of the Arabs*. He also recognizes that the new timescale was widely understood in that way. It triggered no (religious) discussion and needed no further qualification as to its meaning.

40 Their creed would be reflected in John, Bishop of Nikiû, *Chronicles* (ca. 690 AD) CXX, 57: The Godhead indeed is not converted into the manhood, nor the manhood into the other nature, but the Word which became flesh had become unchangeable, and no change can affect the Word. But the Word which has become flesh is one divine Substance.
While there is little doubt that John, Bishop of Nikiù rejected the Chalcedonian creeds, there is ambivalence in the text as to his beliefs that reach across the spectrum of Christology from Jesus being born man (LXVII, 11), his Word being of God (CXX, 57), or even Jesus being God (CXXI, 8).

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V. Chapter of Dashi in the Jiu Tangshu[16]

Having previously lived in the western portion of Persian Empire, during the Daye period (605-618 CE), the Dashi relayed a tale of a Persian who had taken his camels to the pastures in the Jufen modina mountains.[17] It is told that unexpectedly a lion began conversing like a man, saying "to the west of the mountain there are three caverns hiding numerous weapons; take them. There is also a black stone with white words on it, read them, and you will be a King." The Persian followed the instructions, and indeed found the weapons and a stone upon which the inscription abetted him to revolt. He then assembled desperadoes, crossed the Hengge Water,[18] and plundered caravan merchants, all the while increasing his following. He occupied the western part of Persia as a seperate region, and claimed himself King; Persia and Fulin (Byzantium) revolted and launched punitive expeditions against him, but were both defeated.

Later, during the second year of Yonghui (651 CE), the Dashi began to send envoys to pay tributes. The King, Mimo Muni.[19] Dashi had ordered these

- Governor of Mesopotamia rebells and captures Edessa
- Khosrow II seizes the opportunity and invades Byzantium
- Beginning of the Byzantine-Sassanid War

250 300 350 400 450 500 550 **602** AD

- The Sassanids dominate initially
- Byzantine Empire on the brink of total defeat

250 300 350 400 450 500 550 **621** AD

- Decisive victory by Heraclius in 622
  - Most Sassanid belongings in the West fall into Arab hands
- War ends in 628 with a Byzantine victory

250 300 350 400 450 500 550 600 **628** AD

- Final collapse of the Sassanid Empire
- Everything falls into Arab hands

250 300 350 400 450 500 550 600 **651** AD

- Muʿāwiya is elected Amir al-Mu'minin (commander of the faithful)
- Residence in Damascus
- First mention of the Arab calendar
- Byzantium now main rival

250 300 350 400 450 500 550 600 **662** AD

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https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r6LIVJSHogo&list=PL1zJ2LUq92EkBQpJlVHK2vb7YigCcmzP7&index=5

Arab post-Byzantine coinage	Arab post-Sassanian coinage

Only copper coins are produced in the first two decades after the Arab takeover, invariably including prominent crosses [circled in red], although in one instance replaced by a palm tree [circled in green] (Popp suggests to reflect the Qur'an's account of Jesus's birth, {19.23}[2], 'M' = 40.

Foss sees in this coin the date written according to the Islamic calendar: '*17*' (ie seventeen years following the Hijrah) (outlined in blue)

Arab post-Byzantine coinage	Arab post-Sassanian coinage

In the west coins are overstruck with the Arabic words: '*jayyid*', '*ṭayyib*' (framed in blue), '*wafā*' or '*jayyiz*' but still with a cross crowned emperor.

محمد

'*Muhammad*'

The pictured square includes the word '*Muhammad*' (purple) beneath a cross bearing figure. Foss suggests a date between 636 and 660 which, if correct, would be the earliest known written occurrence of the word outside of the Qur'an.

Following the death of the last Sassanian emperor, Yazdegird III, in 651 (year '*20*' after Yazdegird's accession), silver coins in the east continue to bear Yazdegird's image name but also receive the first 'Islamic' addition: the bismillah ('*in the name of God*') in Arabic (outlined in green).

Shortly afterwards they would revert to using the image of the previous emperor Kusrow II

'*From the 650s until the 690s, silver drachma coins') inscriptions included different dates, different mints, and the names of almost fifty Muslim governors, all written in Pahlavi, as well as a limited range of short phrases in Arabic that followed the model of the first Arab-Sasanian issues by beginning in the second*

Umayyad coinage in the West	Umayyad coinage in the East

Imperial Heraclian gold coin

In the west a series of gold coins of type (a) (*per* Grierson, ie Heraclian-type) on the obverse ('heads' side) but replacing the customary cross on a stepped platform on the reverse with a 'T' or a small sphere on a pole.

On a copper penny, a cross topped with a crescent (red) appears.

In the silver coins of the first Umayyad caliph, Muawiyah, oddly, the head of Yazdegird was replaced by that of his predecessor, Kusrow II.

The Arabic bismillah around the edge of the coin (outlined in green) is now sometimes accompanied by reference in Pahlavi script in the centre circle (outlined in purple) alongside Kusrow's head: '*Muawiyah, Commander of the Believers*'

Umayyad coinage in the West	Umayyad coinage in the East

'66' [*688 or 700, see below*]

'70' [690-691]

'72'

Standing caliph gold coins

After the suppression of ibn Zubayr's revolt, the coinage of Abd al-Malik portrays distinctively Arabic sword-bearing figures. The former 'ecumenical' title '*commander of the believers*' is now replaced with the Quranic word '*khalifa*' ('caliph': meaning '*successor*', '*deputy*' or '*viceroy*')

The reverse ('tails' side) continues to us a variety of cross replacement symbols.

Standing caliph copper coins

73 AH [695]

75 AH [697]

622 – 651 AD | 651 – 660 AD | 660 – 680 AD | 680 – 690 AD | 692 - ...

- Muʿāwiya is elected Amir al-Mu'minin (commander of the faithful)
- Residence in Damascus
- First mention of the Arab calendar
- Byzantium now main rival

250 300 350 400 450 500 550 600 **662** AD

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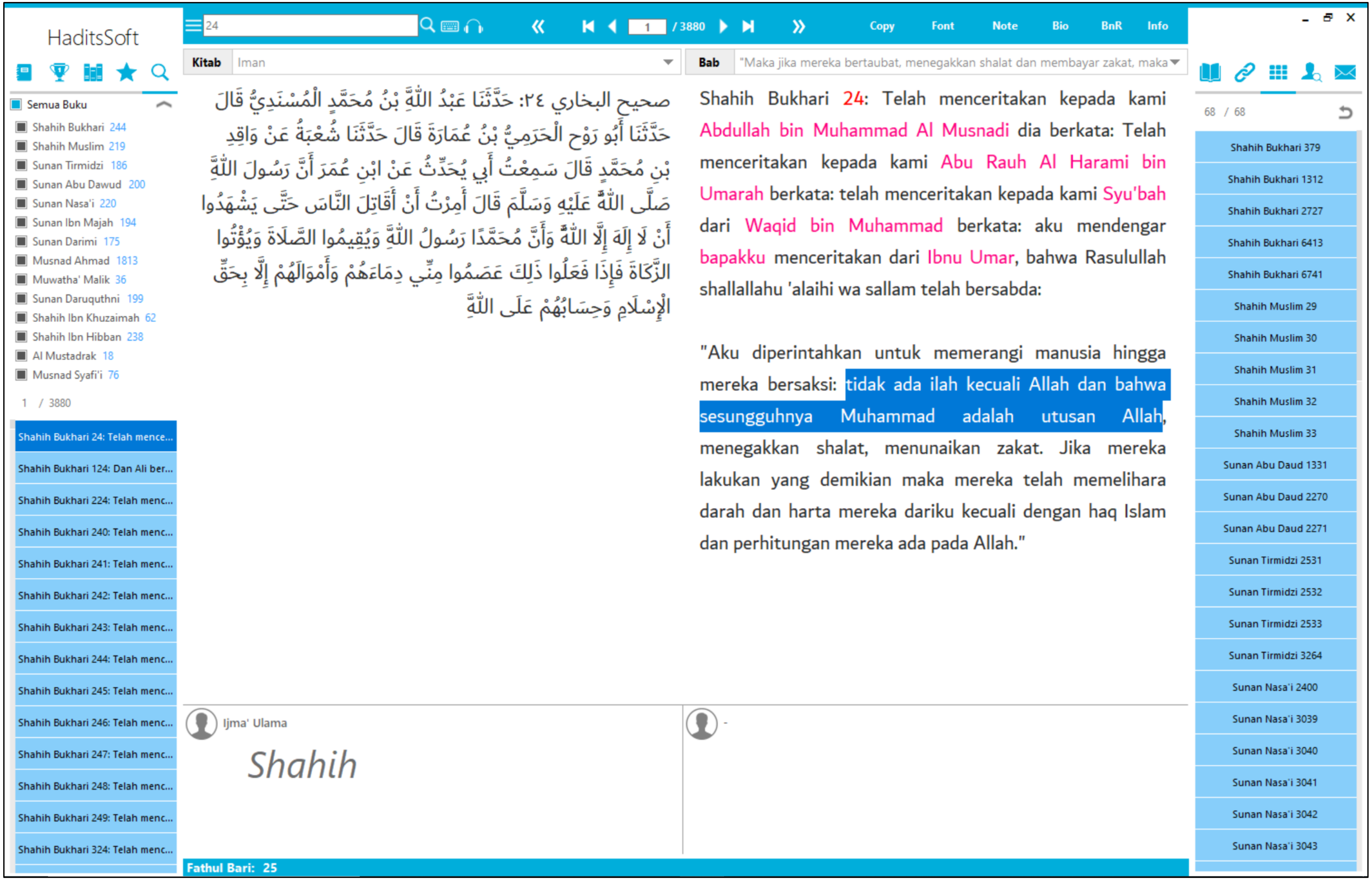
HaditsSoft
24
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Info
Kitab
Iman
Bab
"Maka jika mereka bertaubat, menegakkan shalat dan membayar zakat, maka
Semua Buku
Shahih Bukhari 244
Shahih Muslim 219
Sunan Tirmidzi 186
Sunan Abu Dawud 200
Sunan Nasa'i 220
Sunan Ibn Majah 194
Sunan Darimi 175
Musnad Ahmad 1813
Muwatha' Malik 36
Sunan Daruquthni 199
Shahih Ibn Khuzaimah 62
Shahih Ibn Hibban 238
Al Mustadrak 18
Musnad Syafi'i 76
1 / 3880
Shahih Bukhari 24: Telah mence...
Shahih Bukhari 124: Dan Ali ber...
Shahih Bukhari 224: Telah menc...
Shahih Bukhari 240: Telah menc...
Shahih Bukhari 241: Telah menc...
Shahih Bukhari 242: Telah menc...
Shahih Bukhari 243: Telah menc...
Shahih Bukhari 244: Telah menc...
Shahih Bukhari 245: Telah menc...
Shahih Bukhari 246: Telah menc...
Shahih Bukhari 247: Telah menc...
Shahih Bukhari 248: Telah menc...
Shahih Bukhari 249: Telah menc...
Shahih Bukhari 324: Telah menc...
صحيح البخاري ٢٤: حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ الْمُسْنَدِيُّ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو رَوْحٍ الْحَرَمِيُّ بْنُ عُمَارَةَ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ عَنْ وَاقِدِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ أَبِي يُحَدِّثُ عَنْ ابْنِ عُمَرَ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ أُمِرْتُ أَنْ أُقَاتِلَ النَّاسَ حَتَّى يَشْهَدُوا أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَيُقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَيُؤْتُوا الزَّكَاةَ فَإِذَا فَعَلُوا ذَلِكَ عَصَمُوا مِنِّي دِمَاءَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ إِلَّا بِحَقِّ الْإِسْلَامِ وَحِسَابُهُمْ عَلَى اللَّهِ
Shahih Bukhari 24: Telah menceritakan kepada kami Abdullah bin Muhammad Al Musnadi dia berkata: Telah menceritakan kepada kami Abu Rauh Al Harami bin Umarah berkata: telah menceritakan kepada kami Syu'bah dari Waqid bin Muhammad berkata: aku mendengar bapakku menceritakan dari Ibnu Umar, bahwa Rasulullah shallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam telah bersabda:
"Aku diperintahkan untuk memerangi manusia hingga mereka bersaksi: tidak ada ilah kecuali Allah dan bahwa sesungguhnya Muhammad adalah utusan Allah, menegakkan shalat, menunaikan zakat. Jika mereka lakukan yang demikian maka mereka telah memelihara darah dan harta mereka dariku kecuali dengan haq Islam dan perhitungan mereka ada pada Allah."
Ijma' Ulama
Shahih
-
Fathul Bari: 25
68 / 68
Shahih Bukhari 379
Shahih Bukhari 1312
Shahih Bukhari 2727
Shahih Bukhari 6413
Shahih Bukhari 6741
Shahih Muslim 29
Shahih Muslim 30
Shahih Muslim 31
Shahih Muslim 32
Shahih Muslim 33
Sunan Abu Daud 1331
Sunan Abu Daud 2270
Sunan Abu Daud 2271
Sunan Tirmidzi 2531
Sunan Tirmidzi 2532
Sunan Tirmidzi 2533
Sunan Tirmidzi 3264
Sunan Nasa'i 2400
Sunan Nasa'i 3039
Sunan Nasa'i 3040
Sunan Nasa'i 3041
Sunan Nasa'i 3042
Sunan Nasa'i 3043

DE GRUYTER DOI 10.1515/islam-2012-0003 — ISLAM 2012; 89(2): 60–69

Jere L. Bacharach, Sherif Anwar

Early Versions of the *shahāda:* A Tombstone from Aswan of 71 A.H., the Dome of the Rock, and Contemporary Coinage

Abstract: The article investigates the earliest appearance of a group of words which are identified in the literature as the *shahāda* but are rarely defined on the assumption that everyone knows what the *shahāda* is. The basic argument is that there was more than one version of the *shahāda* circulating in the Islamic world at the beginning of the eighth decade A.H./690s C.E. and that scholars need to define which version they mean when using the term "shahāda" for this early period. Evidence for the argument includes data from stelae from Aswan to the Fatimid era, the Dome of the Rock and early Muslim coinage.

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Sherif Anwar: Cairo University, sherifcoins@yahoo.com

We will investigate the earliest appearance of a group of words which are identified in the literature as the *shahāda* but are rarely defined on the assumption that everyone knows what the *shahāda* is. We shall argue that there was more than one version of the *shahāda* circulating in the Islamic world at the beginning of the eighth decade A.H./690s C.E. Since the term *shahāda* evokes in most minds in the twenty first century the phrases *lā ilāha illā llāhu muḥammadun rasūlu llāh*, "There is no deity except God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God", we shall use the term "Affirmation of Faith" proceeded by an adjective indicating the place of origin to differentiate them. There was an Egyptian version known from an Aswan stele, a Syrian one known from the Dome of the Rock, an "Eastern" form known from numismatic evidence, and a different wording known from the all-epigraphic dinars and dirhams which were first struck in 77/697 and 78/698 respectively and none of them are exactly like the form of the *shahāda* as we know it today.

Our contribution builds upon points made by Frédéric BAUDEN in his presentation "Tombstone inscriptions and their potential as textual sources for social history," which he gave at an international conference on the Aswan stele (held in Aswan, Egypt in 2010). One of BAUDEN's critical observations was that a phrase, once having appeared on a tombstone, it can be repeated over time without carry-

Figure 1: The tombstone of ʿAbbāsa b. Jurayj dated 71 H. Reproduced from Hassan M. EL-HAWARY, JRAS 1932: 290.

Figure 2: Arab-Byzantine solidi of Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine and Heraclonas attributed to Damascus, 72 H. *Sylloge of the Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Museum 1*, 607. Reproduced with the permission of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum.

Figure 3: Umayyad dirham, 79 H. without mint. Published with the permission of the Egyptian National Library and Archives. Reg. 73. S.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Islamic Awareness

Tombstone Of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khair al-Ḥajrī, 31 AH / 652 CE

Islamic Awareness

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(a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا القبر
(2) لعبد الرحمن بن خير الحجرى اللهم اغفرله
(3) وادخله فى رحمة منك و ائتنا معه
(4) استغفر له اذا قرا هذا الكتب (sic)
(5) و قل امين وكتب هذا ا
(6) لكتب (sic) فى جمدى (sic) الا
(7) خرمن سنت (sic) احدى و
(8) ثلثين

The translation of the inscription is:

1. In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate; this tomb
2. belongs to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khair al-Ḥajrī. O Allāh, forgive him
3. and make him enter into Thy mercy and make us go with him.
4. (passer by) When reading this inscription ask pardon for him (the deceased)
5. and say *amīn*! This inscription was written
6. in *Jumada II*
7. of the year one and
8. thirty.

https://www.islamic-awareness.org/history/islam/inscriptions/hajri

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IRANIAN HISTORY: SASANIAN DYNASTY

Sacral Kingship in Sasanian Iran

By: Jamsheed K. Choksky

Shâhigân-i Sepid (white Palace), Tyspawn (Ctesiphone) in Khvârvarân Province (now-days Iraq)

In ancient Near Eastern societies the king stood at the apex of the social hierarchy. He possessed supreme status, vast wealth, and great authority. The ruler rested his claim to rule on divine sanction. All other prerequisites for rule such as tradition and royal descent also required and received their warrant from the gods through religion. For the exercise of rule the king often depended on royal charisma, personal and family allegiances, the alliance of noble families, and retainers. The authority of the king required divine sanction based upon the prevailing religious institutions, and hence kingship in the ancient Near East was primarily of two types: divine kingship and sacral kingship. Both forms of kingship were based on religious doctrines and beliefs and resulted in the development of political ideologies and practices to legitimize and propagate the claim to power and authority.

All doctrines and ideologies of divine kingship embodied the fundamental belief that the king was of divine essence; a god incarnate or descended among mankind. The ruler was not deified at any particular moment such as coronation or death, and indeed his coronation was an epiphany, not an apotheosis.' The monarch was usually identified as the incarnation of a major deity of the state religion. In doctrines and ideologies of sacral kingship, however, the king was not divine. The ruler, though greater than ordinary men, and often claiming to be of the lineage of the gods, was always subordinate to the gods. He was a mortal and a member of the human community, not a god incarnate or descended on earth. The king led and ruled his people but was not believed to be greatly different from his subjects in essence or nature. The king was the chosen representative of the gods on earth and hence required their support, assistance, and good will.

Thus such kings were often depicted in attitudes of worship and humility before the gods or their symbols. Since kingship originated from the gods it was regarded as sacral, and conferred physical inviolability, wisdom, great physical prowess, and often personal sanctity upon the recipient. Sacral kingship was widely practised in ancient Mesopotamia.

https://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/History/Sasanian/sacral_kingship.htm

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Like Father, Like Daughter: Late Sasanian Imperial Ideology & the Rise of Bōrān to Power

Haleh Emrani
University of California, Los Angeles

The reign of Bōrān and, afterwards that of her sister Āzarmīgduxt, although short-lived, were historically significant. No other woman ascended the Sasanian throne, in her own rights, before or after them. The significance is even greater in view of the social and cultural limitations placed on women in Sasanian Iran, as discussed in the studies presented by scholars such as Jamsheed K. Choksy, Albert De Jong, and Mansour Shaki. This paper investigates the factors that legitimized the rise of these women to the throne through the examination of the ideas of Iranian kingship in general and Sasanian imperial ideology in particular.

Kingship in Iran was both political and religious; the former by the virtue of royal office and the latter as the protector of the divine law on earth. Many scholars have studied the concept of Iranian kinship, including Geo Widengren, Richard N. Frye, and more recently Choksy, Abolala Soudavar, Antonio Panaino, and Touraj Daryaee. The most important aspect of Iranian kingship debated by these scholars is the idea of sacral kingship as opposed to a divinized ruler. Choksy, for instance, suggests that Iranian kingship was sacral; he has reconstructed this concept from the accounts of Dēnkard or Acts of the Religion. He has elaborated on the doctrine of sacral kingship "as represented, legitimized, propagated, and preserved by the [Mazdean] religion." Frye, through the examination of "the place of the king in secular popular beliefs," and Soudavar, based on the study of visual symbolism of xwarrah or "Divine Glory" throughout Iranian history, have also suggested that Iranian kingship was sacral.

According to this idea, the king was legitimate because xwarrah, the divine glory of kingship, was bestowed upon him by a deity, and he could lose it by deviating from the divine

by Malek and Curtis, Daryaee, Mochiri, Göbl and others), and the particular legend on her coinage (imitating her father's) were all to accommodate this shift.

In conclusion, the political turmoil after the reign of Kawād, and the challenges presented by the contender, Šahrwarāz, threatened the concept of hereditary monarchy so that drastic measures were required to preserve Sasanian kingship. In such dire conditions, nobles and priests, who were the pillars of the Sasanian institution of monarchy, reacted; they ensured the dynastic continuity, albeit for a short time, by promoting the accession of Bōrān, the daughter of Xusrō II and later her sister, Āzarmīgduxt, to the throne. The most important requirement for such an occurrence was the lineage of the person who had to preserve the function of the dynastic monarchy. Bōrān and Āzarmīgduxt were from the Sasanian royal bloodline and thus possessed the main prerequisite for the sacral kingship and xwarrah to be theirs. By disregarding the gender of these women, Sasanian aristocrats and the religious leaders preserved the idea of sacral kingship and the powerful position of the Mazdean institution.

Illustrations

Figure 1: Xusrō II's crown

Figure 2: Bōrān's Crown

Figure 3: Queen Boran's silver drahm, Muzeh Melli (Iran Bastan), Tehran.

Figure 4: Queen Bōrān's gold coin, private collection, courtesy of T. Daryaee

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Chinvat Bridge

The ***Chinvat Bridge*** is the span between the world of the living and the afterlife in the ancient Persian religion of Zoroastrianism. It is also known as Cinvat Bridge, Cinvad Bridge, and Chinvato Peretav. Every soul, after death, was thought destined to cross the Chinvat Bridge where it would be judged and assigned a place in the afterlife.

Chinvat Bridge
Uriel1022 (Public Domain)

Justified souls were welcomed to paradise in one of the four levels of the House of Song, condemned souls were dropped into one of the four hells of the House of Lies. Those souls whose good and bad deeds were equal were assigned to a place in between these two known as Hamistakan, an early vision of the Catholic purgatory, where they would remain until the end of time and the day of resurrection.

After Zoroastrianism was suppressed by the Muslim Arab invaders in the 7th century CE, the concept of the bridge survived and was later incorporated into the Muslim vision of the afterlife in the Hadiths where it is known as As-Sirat. Belief in the reality of As-Sirat varies among Muslims in the present day, and the validity of the ancient Persian concept, reworked by Muslim theologians, continues to be debated.

https://www.worldhistory.org/Chinvat_Bridge/

Article

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The Zoroastrian Provenance of Some Islamic Eschatological Doctrines

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Faculty of Arts, Department of Asia Institute, University of Melbourne, Australia

Abstract: Zoroastrianism, as the major Iranian religion before the fall of the Sasanian Empire in the seventh century, exercised a deep influence on other religious traditions of the region around it. In particular, it has exercised a strong influence on the development of eschatological ideas in the Arabic and Islamic literature. This article explores some of the main features of the transmission of ideas from Zoroastrian sources to Islamic literature, focusing on doctrines regarding the judgment of souls after death. It argues that the Islamic literature that emerged in the first centuries of Islamic history borrowed several eschatological themes covered in Zoroastrian sources, and incorporated them into an Islamic theological system.

Résumé : Le zoroastrisme, principale religion iranienne avant la chute de l'empire sassanide au 7ème siècle, a exercé une profonde influence sur les autres traditions religieuses de la région. En particulier, il a exercé une forte influence sur le développement des idées eschatologiques dans la littérature islamique et arabe. Cet article explore quelques-unes des principales caractéristiques de la transmission des idées des sources zoroastriennes à la littérature islamique, en se concentrant sur les doctrines concernant le jugement des âmes après la mort. Il soutient que la littérature islamique qui a émergé aux premiers siècles de l'histoire musulmane a emprunté plusieurs thèmes eschatologiques couverts dans les sources zoroastriennes et les a intégrés dans le système théologique islamique.

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THE ORIGINS OF MUSLIMS PRAYER:

SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURY RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES ON THE SALĀT RITUAL

A Thesis

presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate School

at the University of Missouri-Columbia

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts in Religious Studies

---

by

JUSTIN PAUL HIENZ

Dr. Robert Baum, Thesis Supervisor

AUGUST 2008

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ABSTRACT

While salat is a central aspect of Islamic practice, the way the first Muslims developed the prayer ritual has not been widely researched. This study employs the theory of syncretism to show that religious rituals practiced in Jewish traditions, Zoroastrian traditions, Christian traditions and traditions indigenous to the Arabian Peninsula influenced how the Muslim daily prayer was developed.

Four aspects of salat are considered: washing before prayer, prostration, direction faced during prayer and number of times prayer is performed throughout the day. A set of criteria for potential syncretic influence is applied to historical evidence of religious practice in specific communities in the Northeast Africa, Southwest Asia region in the sixth and seventh centuries. The criteria are similarity in practice, contact between early Muslims and other religious individuals or groups, and the extent of that contact. When these criteria are met, possible syncretic influence is indicated.

Conclusions reached indicate that ritual washing was influenced by Jewish and Zoroastrian practice. Prostration was likely an influence from indigenous Arabian traditions and not from Jewish and Christian traditions, as previous studies have concluded. Direction faced during prayer was an influence stemming from the Jewish tradition. Number of times prayer is performed throughout the day was primarily a Zoroastrian influence, while other traditions also likely had some influence.

The Original Sources Of The Qur'an

Its Origin In Pagan Legends and Mythology

By W. St. Clair Tisdall, M.A., D.D.,

1905 AD

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III. Influence of Sabian and Jewish Ideas and Practices

IV. Influence of Christianity and Christian Apocryphal Books

V. Zoroastrian Elements in the Qur'an and Traditions of Islam

VI . The Hanifs and Their Influence Upon Nascent Islam

Conclusion

The Night Journey.
The first matter with which we shall here deal is the celebrated account of Muhammad's Night Journey. This is thus referred to in a verse which we have already11." quoted (Su rah XVII., Al Asra' - also called Surah Banu Israil' - 1) -

2. The Muhammadan Paradise with Huris
With these we may couple the Ghilman, the Angel of Death; and the Dharratu'l Kainat.

3. The Ascent of 'Azrazil from Hell.
'Azazil, according to the Muslim tradition, was the original name of Satan or Iblis. The name is Hebrew and occurs in the original text of Leviticus (xvi. 8, 10, 26). But the tale of his origin is not at all Jewish but almost if not quite Zoroastrian, as a comparison between the Muslim and the Zoroastrian legends proves.

4. Legend of the "Light of Muhammad."
Though not mentioned in the Qur'an, the story of the Light of Muhammad, which shone on his forehead and was his pre-existent essence, so to speak, occupies a very important place in the Traditions. Whole pages are filled with such traditions in such books as the Raudatu'l Ahbab. There we read that "When Adam was created, God placed that light upon his forehead, and said, 'O Adam, this light which I have placed upon thy forehead is the light of the noblest and best son [of thine], and it is the light of the chief of the prophets who shall be sent.'" Then the narrative goes on to say that the light passed on from Adam to Seth, and from Seth to the noblest of his descendants in each generation, until in due course it reached 'Abdu'llah ibn Al Muttalab. From him it passed to Aminah when she conceived Muhammad 54. It maybe that Muhammadans have intended in their account of this light of Muhammad to exalt their master so as to match what is said of Christ in John i. 4, 5 (cf. xii. 41), and that there is a confusion in their minds between the first of these passages and Gen. i. 3. At the same time it will be seen from the passages which we now proceed to quote that the details, though with marvellous exaggeration and invention, are, in their main outline, borrowed from Zoroastrian legend.

5. The Bridge of the Dead.
This is called in the Muhammadan Traditions As-S irat or "The Way." There are many details given about this marvellous bridge, which is said to be finer than a hair and sharper than a sword. It stretches right over the abyss of hell, and is the only way of passing from earth to heaven on the Judgment Day. All will be commanded to cross it. The pious Muslim will do so without difficulty, guided by the angels; but the unbeliever, unable to cross, will fall headlong into hell fire.

6. Other Persian Ideas Borrowed.
There are, no doubt, many other matters in which Persian ideas have influenced Islam, but what has been said is sufficient for our purpose. We must not conclude this part of our inquiry, however, without a reference to two other points of some little importance.

One of these is the Muslim belief that every prophet before his death gave notice of the coming of his successor. This idea finds no support in the Bible, where we find prophecies of the coming of the Messiah, but nothing to give rise to the Muhammadan theory. It is probably borrowed from a Zoroastrian work called the Dasatir i Asmani. This work claims to be of very great antiquity, and (owing doubtless to the difficulty of making any sense out of the original 64 text is believed by many of the modern Parsis to be "composed in the language of heaven"! An interlinear translation into the old Dari dialect of Persian, however,

457-484 AD Sasanian empire https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1971-1121-4	
571 AD	**Muhammad was born**
632-654 AD	**Rashidun caliphate conquered Persia/Sasanian empire**
693/694 AD Umayyad caliphate https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/479441	
717 AD Umayyad caliphate https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1861-0508-42	

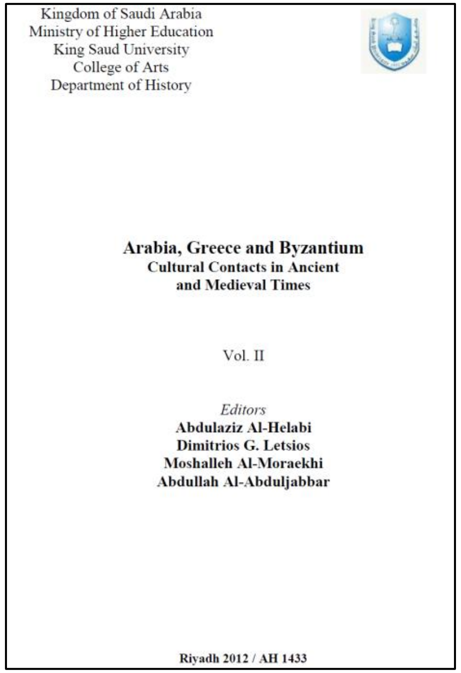
	Zoroastrianism ***(Ahura mazda – Fire altar)*** **Title:** Dirham of Sasanian Type **Date:** 693/694 **Geography:** Made in Damascus Inscription: On obverse: Pahlavi inscriptions around portrait: Khusrau, may his glory increase; in Arabic, in margin: ***In the name of God. There is no God but God Alone; Muhammad is the prophet of God***; on reverse, in Arabic, left and right: [year] seventy-four; Dimashq [Damascus] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/479441
	Judaism ***(Menorah)*** **Umayyad Caliphate** Circa AD 696/7-750. Æ Fals (15mm, 2.86 g, 11h). Iliya (Jerusalem) mint. Five-branched candelabra with horizontal bar on top; vertical stem with two leaves at mid-height; "***There is no god but Allah alone***" around / "***Muhammad is Allah's messenger***" in three lines; https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=242422
	Christian ***(Ixoye – Ikhtus)*** **Umayyad Caliphate** Palestine: Anonymous (738+ AD) Obv: Within looped square inside circle, لا إله إلا الله وحده ("***There is no god but Allah alone***") Rev: Within looped square inside circle, fish left; on three sides around from above, محمد رسول الله ("***Muhammad is the apostle of Allah***") https://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-112539

Umayyad Caliphate (661–750) [edit]

Main article: Umayyad Caliphate

Image/Coin	Name	Born
	Mu'awiya I	602
	Yazid I	647
	Mu'awiya II	664
	Marwan I	623–626
	Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan	646
	Al-Walid I	668
	Sulayman ibn Abd al-Malik	674
	Umar II	2 November 682
	Yazid II	687
	Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik	691
	Al-Walid II	709
	Yazid III	701
	Ibrahim ibn al-Walid	
	Marwan II	691

generations in Dashi tribes. In the clan, there were two branches; one was Penni xishen, the other was Penni mohuan.[23] One of Xishen's descendants was Mo-hemo (Muhammad); brave and intelligent, he was elected to be the King by the tribes. He carried out military expeditions towards east and west, and conquered a vast area of around three thousand miles including Xiala (Hella, also known as Shan city).[24] The fourteenth generation decendent of Muhammad was Mo-huan[25], who had murdered his brother Yiji[26] to claim the throne. A cruel and merciless leader, hated by his subjects faced a month-long revolt started by Bingbo Xilin[27] (from Mulu in Huluoshan region; Merv, Khorasan), headed the revolt. Donned in black, tens of throusands of followers had assembled and marched together, capturing Mo-huan (Marwan II) alive and killing him. Their next course of action was to find Apu luoba,[28] the descendant of Xishen branch (Hashim), so that he may acend to the throne. It is interesting to not that in the time prior to Mohuan's rule the country had been referred to as "White-Robed Dashi," but then the name was changed to "Black-robed Dashi."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Riyadh 2012 / AH 1433

THE ITINERARY

OF

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA

CRITICAL TEXT, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

MARCUS NATHAN ADLER, M.A.

LONDON
HENRY FROWDE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMEN CORNER, E.C.
1907

earned it by the work of his own hands. He makes coverlets to which he attaches his seal; his courtiers sell them in the market, and the great ones of the land purchase them, and the proceeds thereof provide his sustenance. He is truthful and trusty, speaking peace to all men. The men of Islam see him but once in the year. The pilgrims that come from distant lands to go unto Mecca which is in the land El-Yemen, are anxious to see his face, and they assemble before the palace exclaiming "Our Lord, light of Islam and glory of our Law, show us the effulgence of thy countenance," but he pays no regard to their words. Then the princes who minister unto him say to him, "Our Lord, spread forth thy peace unto the men that have come from distant lands, who crave to abide under the shadow of thy graciousness," and thereupon he arises and lets down the hem of his
p. 56 robe from the window, | and the pilgrims come and kiss it[1], and a prince says unto them "Go forth in peace, for our Master the Lord of Islam granteth peace to you." He is regarded by them as Mohammed and they go to their houses rejoicing at the salutation which the prince has vouchsafed unto them, and glad at heart that they have kissed his robe.

Each of his brothers and the members of his family has an abode in his palace, but they are all fettered in chains of iron, and guards are placed over each of their houses so that they may not rise against the great Caliph. For once it happened to a predecessor that his brothers rose up against him and proclaimed one of themselves as Caliph; then it was decreed that all the members of his family should be bound, that they might not rise up against the ruling Caliph. Each one of them resides in his palace in great splendour, and they own villages and towns, and their stewards bring them the tribute thereof, and they eat and drink and rejoice all the days of their life[2]. Within the domains of the palace of the Caliph there are great buildings of marble and columns of silver and gold, and
p. 57 carvings | upon rare stones are fixed in the walls. In the Caliph's palace are great riches and towers filled with gold, silken garments and all precious stones. He does not issue forth from his palace save once in the year, at the feast which the Mohammedans call El-id-bed Ramazan, and they come from distant lands that day to see him. He rides on a mule and is attired in the royal robes of gold and silver and fine linen; on his head is a turban adorned with

[1] *Lebrecht*, p. 391, states that this was a scarf of black velvet, generally a portion of the hangings of the mosque of Mecca, which was suspended from a balcony of the Palace and was called the Sleeve of the Caliph.

[2] The statements here made are strangely contradictory; see a suggestive article by Dr. Goldziher in *Z. D. P. V.*, 1905, p. 151.

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Arts & Culture

Benjamin of Tudela

Spanish rabbi

Written and fact-checked by The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica
Article History

Actions

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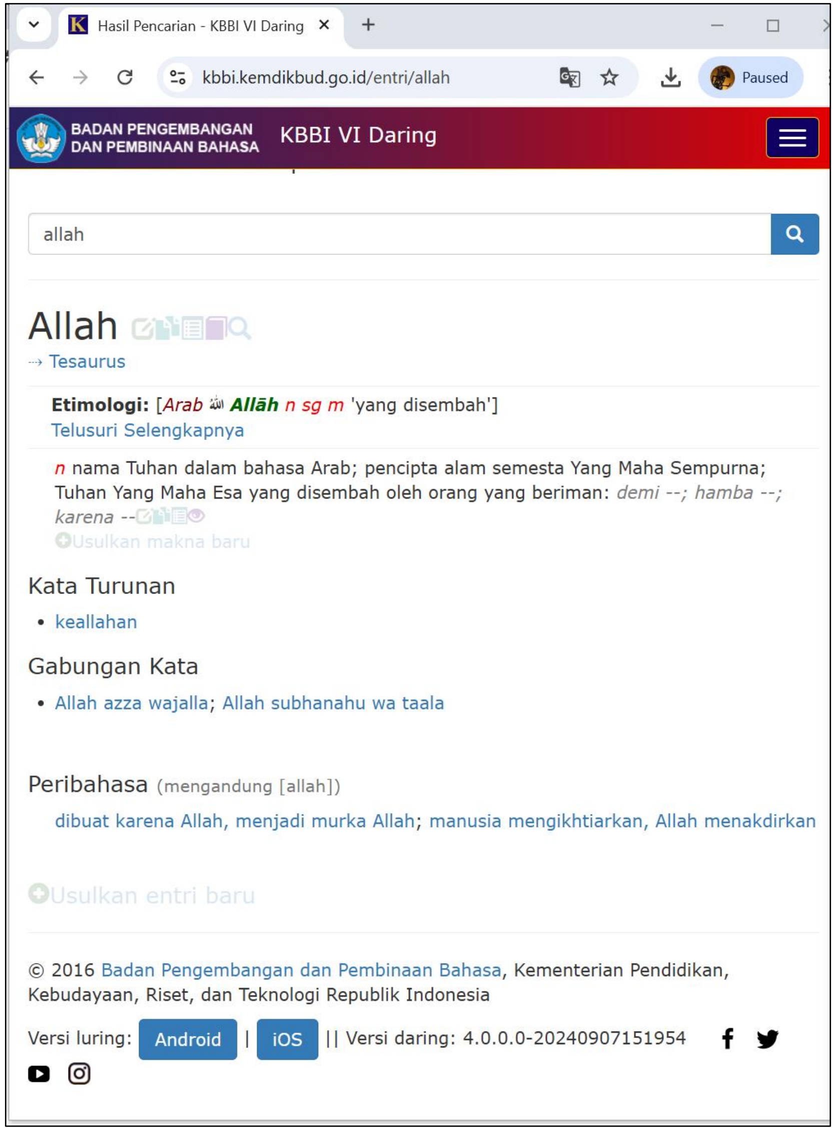
Category: Arts & Culture
Born: 12th century, Navarre [France]
Flourished: c.1101 - c.1200 • Navarra • Spain

See all related content →

Benjamin of Tudela (born 12th century, Navarre [France]) rabbi who was the first known European traveler to approach the frontiers of China and whose account of his journey, *Massa ʿot* (*The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, 1907), illuminates the situation of Jews in Europe and Asia in the 12th century.

Allah



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allah

Allah

⇢ Tesaurus

Etimologi: [*Arab* الله ***Allāh*** *n sg m* 'yang disembah']
Telusuri Selengkapnya

n nama Tuhan dalam bahasa Arab; pencipta alam semesta Yang Maha Sempurna; Tuhan Yang Maha Esa yang disembah oleh orang yang beriman: *demi --; hamba --; karena --*

Usulkan makna baru

Kata Turunan

- keallahan

Gabungan Kata

- Allah azza wajalla; Allah subhanahu wa taala

Peribahasa (mengandung [allah])

dibuat karena Allah, menjadi murka Allah; manusia mengikhtiarkan, Allah menakdirkan

Usulkan entri baru

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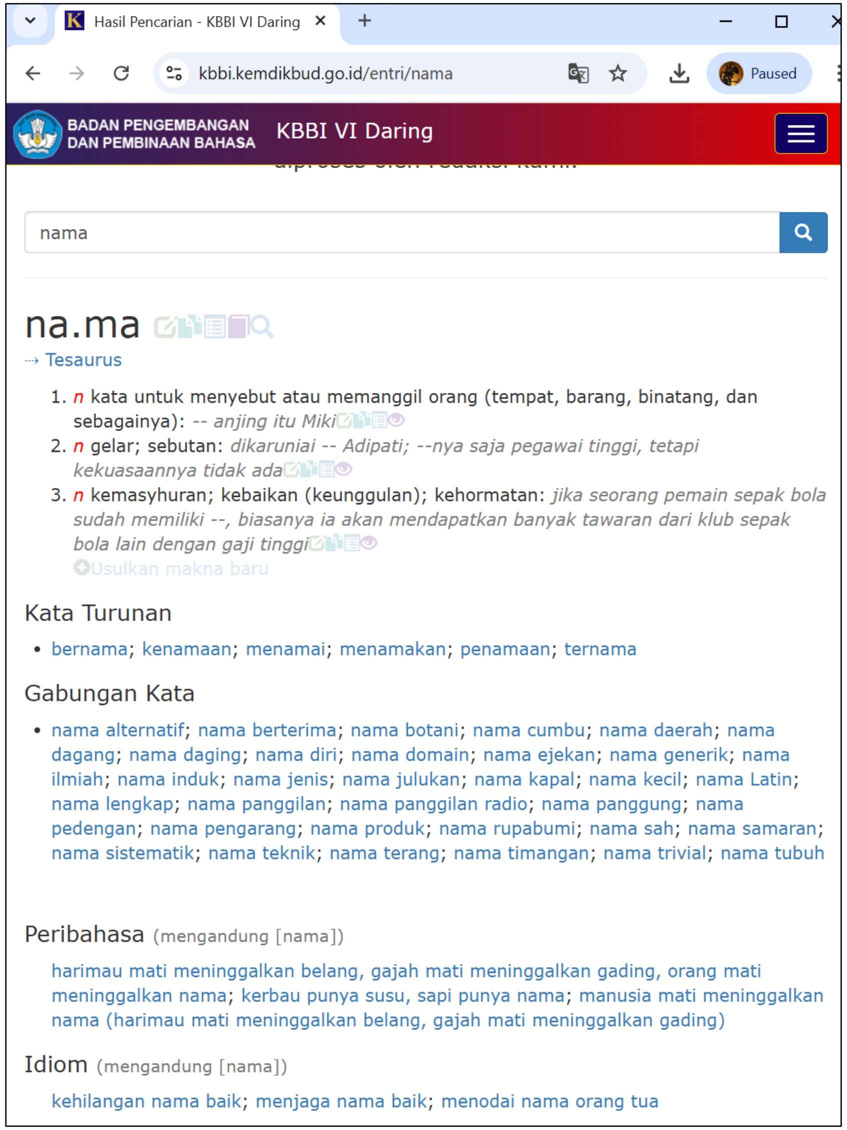

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nama

na.ma

⇢ Tesaurus

1. *n* kata untuk menyebut atau memanggil orang (tempat, barang, binatang, dan sebagainya): *-- anjing itu Miki*
2. *n* gelar; sebutan: *dikaruniai -- Adipati; --nya saja pegawai tinggi, tetapi kekuasaannya tidak ada*
3. *n* kemasyhuran; kebaikan (keunggulan); kehormatan: *jika seorang pemain sepak bola sudah memiliki --, biasanya ia akan mendapatkan banyak tawaran dari klub sepak bola lain dengan gaji tinggi*

Usulkan makna baru

Kata Turunan

- bernama; kenamaan; menamai; menamakan; penamaan; ternama

Gabungan Kata

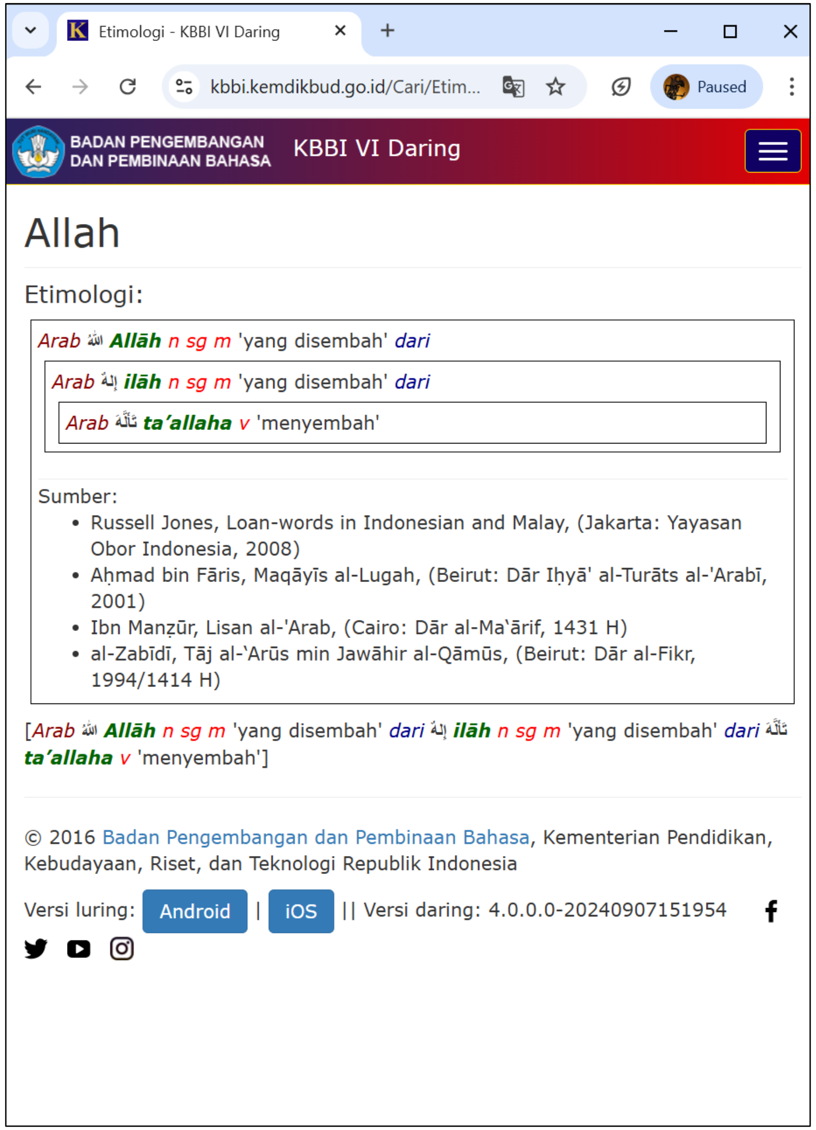
- nama alternatif; nama berterima; nama botani; nama cumbu; nama daerah; nama dagang; nama daging; nama diri; nama domain; nama ejekan; nama generik; nama ilmiah; nama induk; nama jenis; nama julukan; nama kapal; nama kecil; nama Latin; nama lengkap; nama panggilan; nama panggilan radio; nama panggung; nama pedengan; nama pengarang; nama produk; nama rupabumi; nama sah; nama samaran; nama sistematik; nama teknik; nama terang; nama timangan; nama trivial; nama tubuh

Peribahasa (mengandung [nama])

harimau mati meninggalkan belang, gajah mati meninggalkan gading, orang mati meninggalkan nama; kerbau punya susu, sapi punya nama; manusia mati meninggalkan nama (harimau mati meninggalkan belang, gajah mati meninggalkan gading)

Idiom (mengandung [nama])

kehilangan nama baik; menjaga nama baik; menodai nama orang tua



Etimologi - KBBI VI Daring

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Allah

Etimologi:

Arab الله ***Allāh*** *n sg m* 'yang disembah' *dari*
Arab إله ***ilāh*** *n sg m* 'yang disembah' *dari*
Arab تألّه ***ta'allaha*** *v* 'menyembah'

Sumber:

- Russell Jones, Loan-words in Indonesian and Malay, (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2008)
- Aḥmad bin Fāris, Maqāyīs al-Lugah, (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāts al-'Arabī, 2001)
- Ibn Manẓūr, Lisan al-'Arab, (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1431 H)
- al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-'Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1994/1414 H)

[*Arab* الله ***Allāh*** *n sg m* 'yang disembah' *dari* إله ***ilāh*** *n sg m* 'yang disembah' *dari* تألّه ***ta'allaha*** *v* 'menyembah']

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قاموس الكتاب المقدس | دائرة المعارف الكتابية المسيحية

شرح كلمة

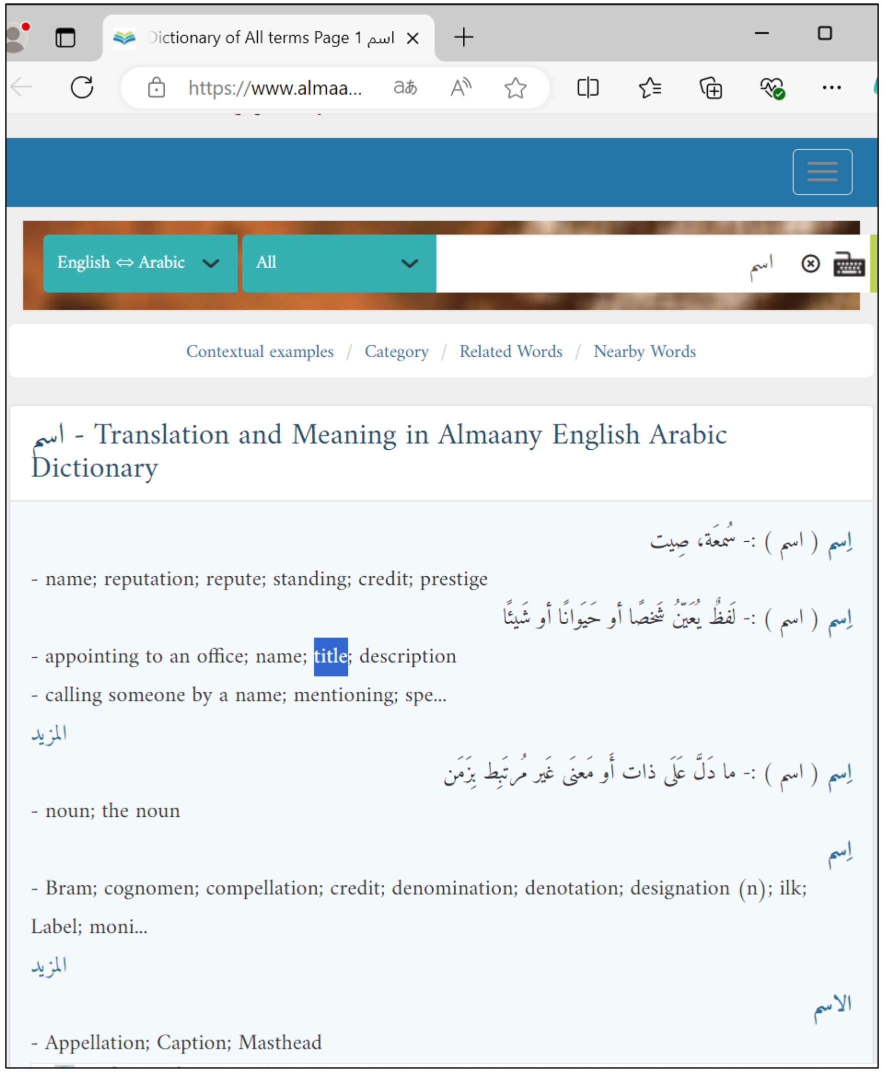
الله

ابن الله | أبناء الله

هذا اسم الإله خالق جميع الكائنات والحاكم الأعظم لجميع العالم، والواهب كل المواهب الحسنة. والله "روح غير محدود، أزلي غير متغير في وجوده وحكمته وقدرته وقداسته وعدله وجودته وحقه" وهو يعلن لنا نفسه بطرق متنوعة وفي أحوال مختلفة متباينة فيظهر لنا في أعماله، وتدبير عنايته (رو 1: 20) ولكنه يتجلى غاية التجلي ويظهر ذاته في الكتاب المقدس. وقد أعلن لنا نفسه بأجلي بيان وعلى أكمل كيفية في شخص ابنه الوحيد مخلصنا يسوع المسيح وعن طريق حياته وأعماله. وفي تأملنا في الله نتدبر الأمور الآتية:

(1) أسماء الله:

ويوجد في العهد القديم باللغة العبرية ثلاث مترادفات رئيسية لاسم الجلالة وهي "إلوهيم" و"يهوه" و"أدوناي". فالاسم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English ⇔ Arabic | All | اسم

Contextual examples / Category / Related Words / Nearby Words

اسم - Translation and Meaning in Almaany English Arabic Dictionary

إسم (اسم) :- سُمْعَة، صِيت

- name; reputation; repute; standing; credit; prestige

إسم (اسم) :- لَفظٌ يُعَيِّنُ شَخصًا أو حَيَوانًا أو شَيئًا

- appointing to an office; name; title; description
- calling someone by a name; mentioning; spe...

المزيد

إسم (اسم) :- ما دَلَّ عَلَى ذات أَو مَعنًى غَير مُرتَبِط بِزَمَن

- noun; the noun

إسم

- Bram; cognomen; compellation; credit; denomination; denotation; designation (n); ilk; Label; moni...

المزيد

الاسم

- Appellation; Caption; Masthead

سفر التكوين 1

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سفر التكوين 1

تفاسير..v | تشكيل | أرقام | سطور | عناوين | نص الأصحاح في صورة | تحميل صورة الأصحاح | صور باقي الأصحاحات

0:00

1 فِي الْبَدْءِ خَلَقَ اللهُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالأَرْضَ.
2 وَكَانَتِ الأَرْضُ خَرِبَةً وَخَالِيَةً، وَعَلَى وَجْهِ الْغَمْرِ ظُلْمَةٌ، وَرُوحُ اللهِ يَرِفُّ عَلَى وَجْهِ الْمِيَاهِ.
3 وَقَالَ اللهُ: «لِيَكُنْ نُورٌ»، فَكَانَ نُورٌ.
4 وَرَأَى اللهُ النُّورَ أَنَّهُ حَسَنٌ. وَفَصَلَ اللهُ بَيْنَ النُّورِ وَالظُّلْمَةِ.
5 وَدَعَا اللهُ النُّورَ نَهَارًا، وَالظُّلْمَةُ دَعَاهَا لَيْلاً. وَكَانَ مَسَاءٌ وَكَانَ صَبَاحٌ يَوْمًا وَاحِدًا.
6 وَقَالَ اللهُ: «لِيَكُنْ جَلَدٌ فِي وَسَطِ الْمِيَاهِ. وَلْيَكُنْ فَاصِلاً بَيْنَ مِيَاهٍ وَمِيَاهٍ».
7 فَعَمِلَ اللهُ الْجَلَدَ، وَفَصَلَ بَيْنَ الْمِيَاهِ الَّتِي تَحْتَ الْجَلَدِ وَالْمِيَاهِ الَّتِي فَوْقَ الْجَلَدِ. وَكَانَ كَذلِكَ.
8 وَدَعَا اللهُ الْجَلَدَ سَمَاءً. وَكَانَ مَسَاءٌ وَكَانَ صَبَاحٌ يَوْمًا ثَانِيًا.
9 وَقَالَ اللهُ: «لِتَجْتَمِعِ الْمِيَاهُ تَحْتَ السَّمَاءِ إِلَى مَكَانٍ وَاحِدٍ، وَلْتَظْهَرِ الْيَابِسَةُ». وَكَانَ كَذلِكَ.
10 وَدَعَا اللهُ الْيَابِسَةَ أَرْضًا، وَمُجْتَمَعَ الْمِيَاهِ دَعَاهُ بِحَارًا. وَرَأَى اللهُ ذلِكَ أَنَّهُ حَسَنٌ.

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Kitab Permulaan Wahyu | **Bab** Permulaan wahyu

Semua Buku

- Shahih Bukhari 2710
- Shahih Muslim 2234
- Sunan Tirmidzi 1735
- Sunan Abu Dawud 2024
- Sunan Nasa'i 2310
- Sunan Ibn Majah 1906
- Sunan Darimi 1200
- Musnad Ahmad 9400
- Muwatha' Malik 476
- Sunan Daruquthni 2049
- Shahih Ibn Khuzaimah 674
- Shahih Ibn Hibban 1750
- Al Mustadrak 234
- Musnad Syafi'i 846

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- Shahih Bukhari 3: Telah mencer...
- Shahih Bukhari 13: Telah mence...
- Shahih Bukhari 23: Telah mence...
- Shahih Bukhari 30: Telah mence...
- Shahih Bukhari 31: Telah mence...
- Shahih Bukhari 32: Telah mence...
- Shahih Bukhari 33: Telah mence...
- Shahih Bukhari 34: Telah mence...
- Shahih Bukhari 35: Telah mence...
- Shahih Bukhari 36: Telah mence...
- Shahih Bukhari 37: Telah mence...
- Shahih Bukhari 38: Telah mence...

صحيح البخاري ٣: حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ بُكَيْرٍ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا اللَّيْثُ عَنْ عُقَيْلٍ عَنْ ابْنِ شِهَابٍ عَنْ عُرْوَةَ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ عَنْ عَائِشَةَ أُمِّ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنَّهَا قَالَتْ

أَوَّلُ مَا بُدِئَ بِهِ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ الْوَحْيِ الرُّؤْيَا الصَّالِحَةُ فِي النَّوْمِ فَكَانَ لَا يَرَى رُؤْيَا إِلَّا جَاءَتْ مِثْلَ فَلَقِ الصُّبْحِ ثُمَّ حُبِّبَ إِلَيْهِ الْخَلَاءُ وَكَانَ يَخْلُو بِغَارِ حِرَاءٍ فَيَتَحَنَّثُ فِيهِ وَهُوَ التَّعَبُّدُ اللَّيَالِيَ ذَوَاتِ الْعَدَدِ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَنْزِعَ إِلَى أَهْلِهِ وَيَتَزَوَّدُ لِذَلِكَ ثُمَّ يَرْجِعُ إِلَى خَدِيجَةَ فَيَتَزَوَّدُ لِمِثْلِهَا حَتَّى جَاءَهُ الْحَقُّ وَهُوَ فِي غَارِ حِرَاءٍ فَجَاءَهُ الْمَلَكُ فَقَالَ اقْرَأْ قَالَ مَا أَنَا بِقَارِئٍ قَالَ فَأَخَذَنِي فَغَطَّنِي حَتَّى بَلَغَ مِنِّي الْجَهْدَ ثُمَّ أَرْسَلَنِي فَقَالَ اقْرَأْ قُلْتُ مَا أَنَا بِقَارِئٍ فَأَخَذَنِي فَغَطَّنِي الثَّانِيَةَ حَتَّى بَلَغَ مِنِّي الْجَهْدَ ثُمَّ أَرْسَلَنِي فَقَالَ اقْرَأْ فَقُلْتُ مَا أَنَا بِقَارِئٍ فَأَخَذَنِي فَغَطَّنِي الثَّالِثَةَ ثُمَّ أَرْسَلَنِي فَقَالَ

{ اقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَقٍ اقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ الْأَكْرَمُ }

فَرَجَعَ بِهَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَرْجُفُ فُؤَادُهُ فَدَخَلَ عَلَى خَدِيجَةَ بِنْتِ خُوَيْلِدٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا فَقَالَ زَمِّلُونِي زَمِّلُونِي فَزَمَّلُوهُ حَتَّى ذَهَبَ عَنْهُ الرَّوْعُ فَقَالَ لِخَدِيجَةَ وَأَخْبَرَهَا

Jahiliyyah, dia juga menulis buku dalam bahasa Ibrani, juga menulis Kitab Injil dalam Bahasa Ibrani dengan izin Allah. Saat itu Waroqoh sudah tua dan matanya buta. Khadijah berkata: "Wahai putra pamanku, dengarkanlah apa yang akan disampaikan oleh putra saudaramu ini". Waroqoh berkata: "Wahai putra saudaraku, apa yang sudah kamu alami." Maka Rasulullah shallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam menuturkan peristiwa yang dialaminya. Waroqoh berkata: "Ini adalah Namus, seperti yang pernah Allah turunkan kepada Musa. Duhai seandainya aku masih muda dan aku masih hidup saat kamu nanti diusir oleh kaummu". Rasulullah shallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam bertanya: "Apakah aku akan diusir mereka?" Waroqoh menjawab: "Iya. Karena tidak ada satu orang pun yang datang dengan membawa seperti apa yang kamu bawa ini kecuali akan disakiti (dimusuhi). Seandainya aku ada saat kejadian itu,

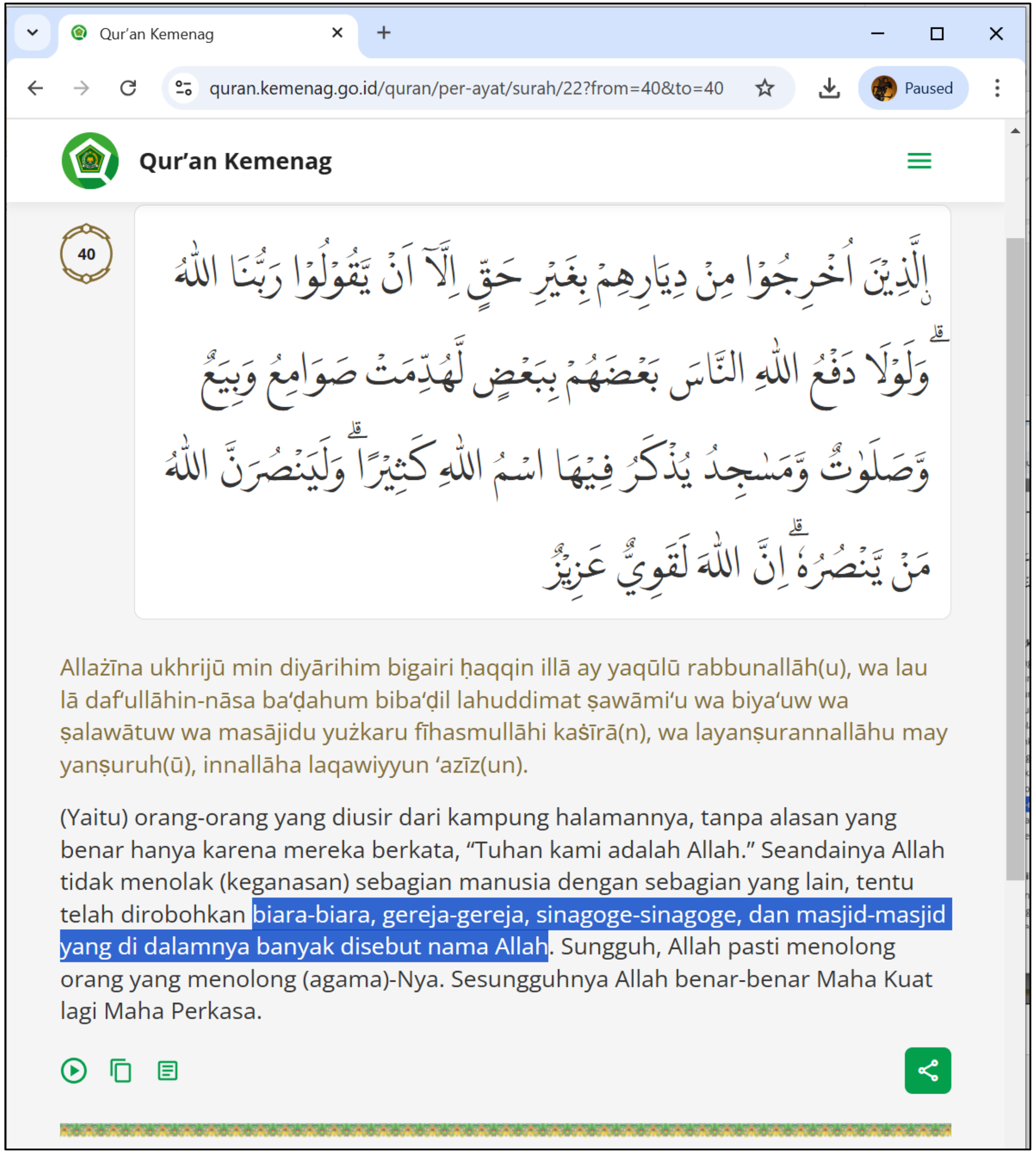
Ijma' Ulama

Shahih

-

2 / 2

- Shahih Bukhari 4572
- Shahih Bukhari 6467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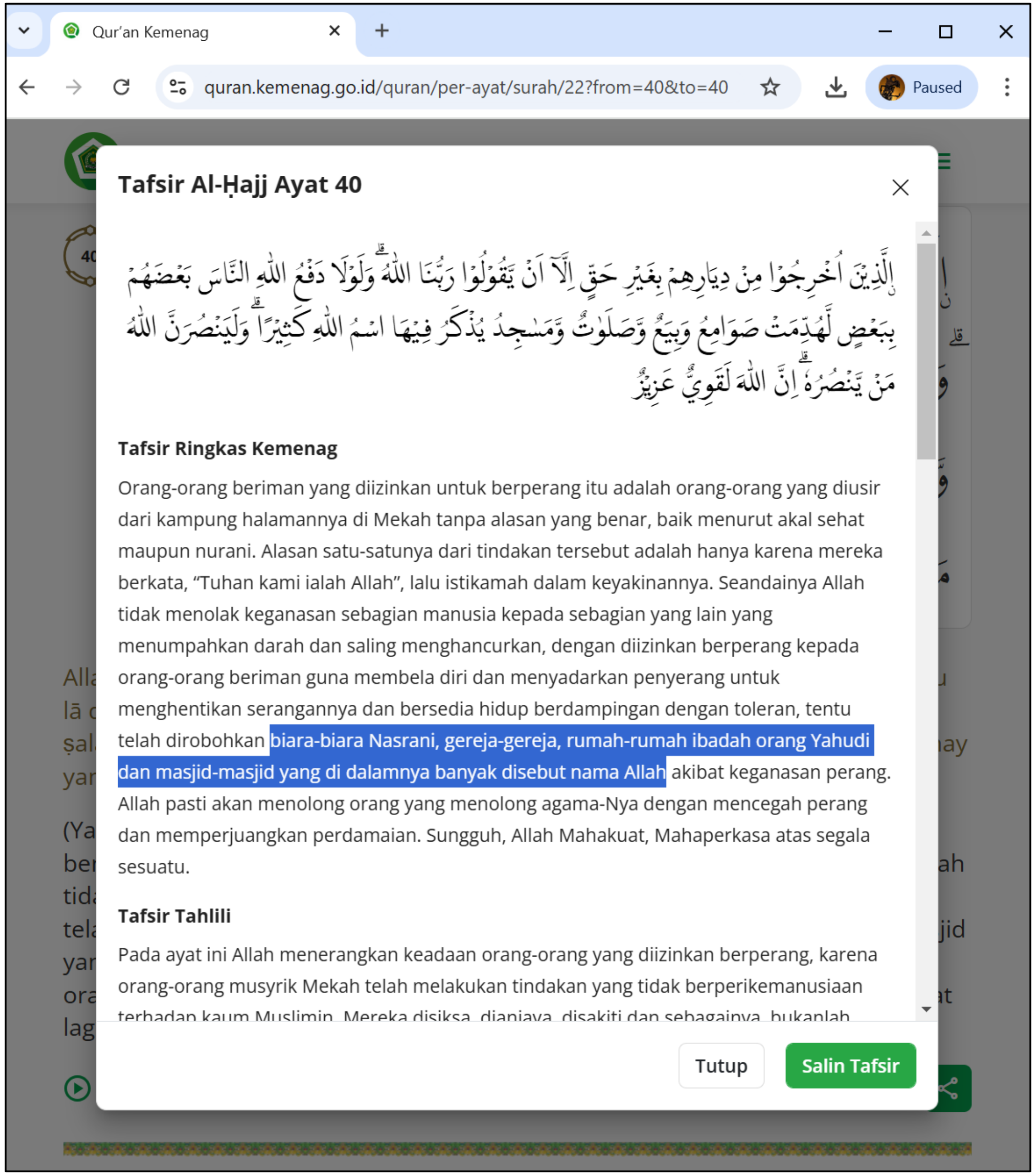
40
الَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ إِلَّا أَنْ يَقُولُوا رَبُّنَا اللَّهُ ۗ
وَلَوْلَا دَفْعُ اللَّهِ النَّاسَ بَعْضَهُمْ بِبَعْضٍ لَهُدِّمَتْ صَوَامِعُ وَبِيَعٌ
وَصَلَوَاتٌ وَمَسَاجِدُ يُذْكَرُ فِيهَا اسْمُ اللَّهِ كَثِيرًا ۗ وَلَيَنْصُرَنَّ اللَّهُ
مَنْ يَنْصُرُهُ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَقَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ
Allażīna ukhrijū min diyārihim bigairi ḥaqqin illā ay yaqūlū rabbunallāh(u), wa lau lā daf'ullāhin-nāsa ba'ḍahum biba'ḍil lahuddimat ṣawāmi'u wa biya'uw wa ṣalawātuw wa masājidu yużkaru fīhasmullāhi kaṡīrā(n), wa layanṣurannallāhu may yanṣuruh(ū), innallāha laqawiyyun 'azīz(un).
(Yaitu) orang-orang yang diusir dari kampung halamannya, tanpa alasan yang benar hanya karena mereka berkata, "Tuhan kami adalah Allah." Seandainya Allah tidak menolak (keganasan) sebagian manusia dengan sebagian yang lain, tentu telah dirobohkan biara-biara, gereja-gereja, sinagoge-sinagoge, dan masjid-masjid yang di dalamnya banyak disebut nama Allah. Sungguh, Allah pasti menolong orang yang menolong (agama)-Nya. Sesungguhnya Allah benar-benar Maha Kuat lagi Maha Perkasa.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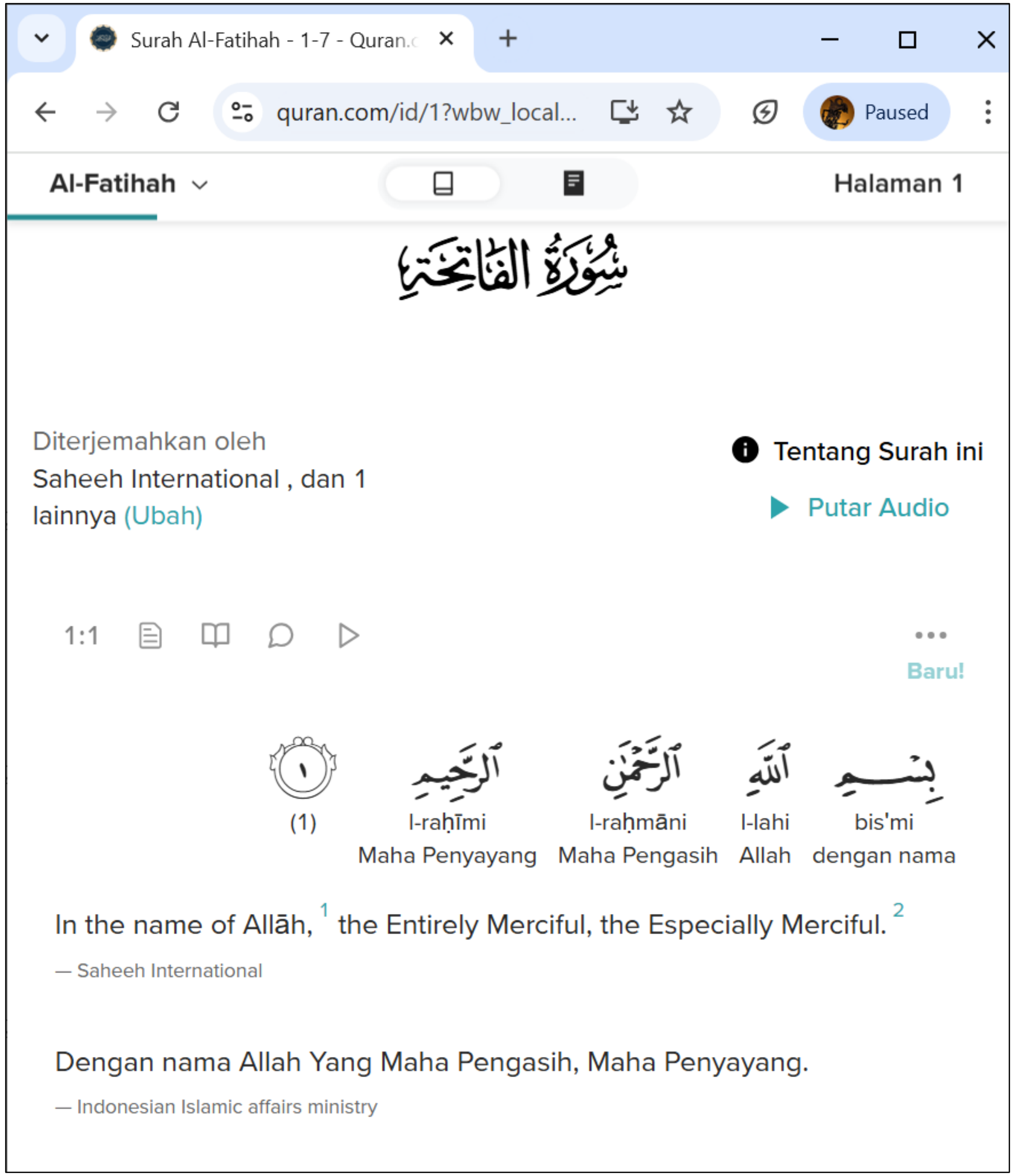
Paused
Tafsir Al-Ḥajj Ayat 40
الَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ إِلَّا أَنْ يَقُولُوا رَبُّنَا اللَّهُ ۗ وَلَوْلَا دَفْعُ اللَّهِ النَّاسَ بَعْضَهُمْ
بِبَعْضٍ لَهُدِّمَتْ صَوَامِعُ وَبِيَعٌ وَصَلَوَاتٌ وَمَسَاجِدُ يُذْكَرُ فِيهَا اسْمُ اللَّهِ كَثِيرًا ۗ وَلَيَنْصُرَنَّ اللَّهُ
مَنْ يَنْصُرُهُ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَقَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ
Tafsir Ringkas Kemenag
Orang-orang beriman yang diizinkan untuk berperang itu adalah orang-orang yang diusir dari kampung halamannya di Mekah tanpa alasan yang benar, baik menurut akal sehat maupun nurani. Alasan satu-satunya dari tindakan tersebut adalah hanya karena mereka berkata, "Tuhan kami ialah Allah", lalu istikamah dalam keyakinannya. Seandainya Allah tidak menolak keganasan sebagian manusia kepada sebagian yang lain yang menumpahkan darah dan saling menghancurkan, dengan diizinkan berperang kepada orang-orang beriman guna membela diri dan menyadarkan penyerang untuk menghentikan serangannya dan bersedia hidup berdampingan dengan toleran, tentu telah dirobohkan biara-biara Nasrani, gereja-gereja, rumah-rumah ibadah orang Yahudi dan masjid-masjid yang di dalamnya banyak disebut nama Allah akibat keganasan perang. Allah pasti akan menolong orang yang menolong agama-Nya dengan mencegah perang dan memperjuangkan perdamaian. Sungguh, Allah Mahakuat, Mahaperkasa atas segala sesuatu.
Tafsir Tahlili
Pada ayat ini Allah menerangkan keadaan orang-orang yang diizinkan berperang, karena orang-orang musyrik Mekah telah melakukan tindakan yang tidak berperikemanusiaan
Tutup
Salin Tafsir



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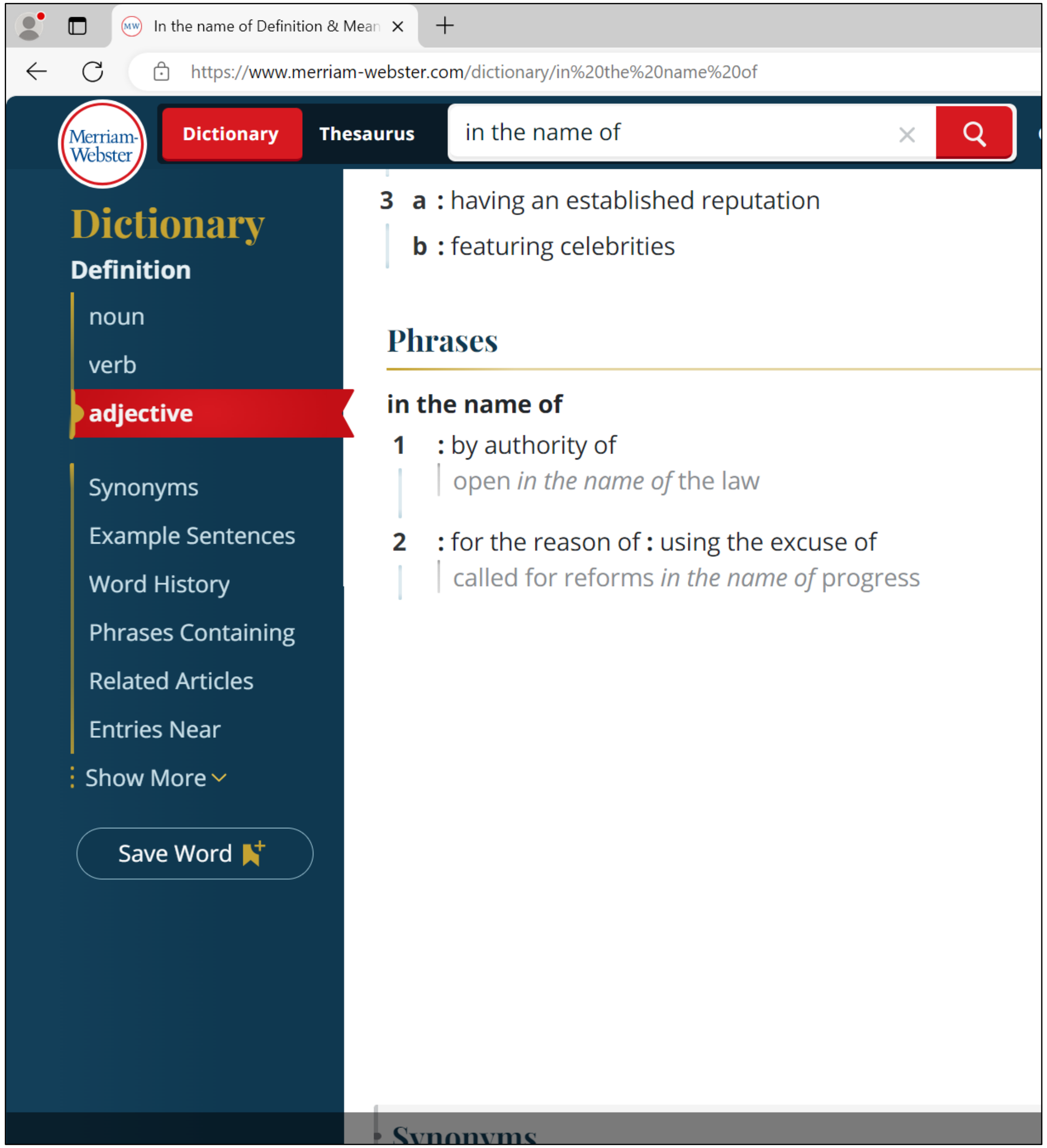
Al-Fatihah
Halaman 1
Diterjemahkan oleh
Saheeh International , dan 1
lainnya (Ubah)
Tentang Surah ini
Putar Audio
1:1
Baru!
(1)
بِسْمِ
ٱللَّهِ
ٱلرَّحْمَٰنِ
ٱلرَّحِيمِ
bis'mi
dengan nama
l-lahi
Allah
l-raḥmāni
Maha Pengasih
l-raḥīmi
Maha Penyayang
In the name of Allāh, 1 the Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful. 2
— Saheeh International
Dengan nama Allah Yang Maha Pengasih, Maha Penyayang.
— Indonesian Islamic affairs ministry



In the name of Definition & Mean
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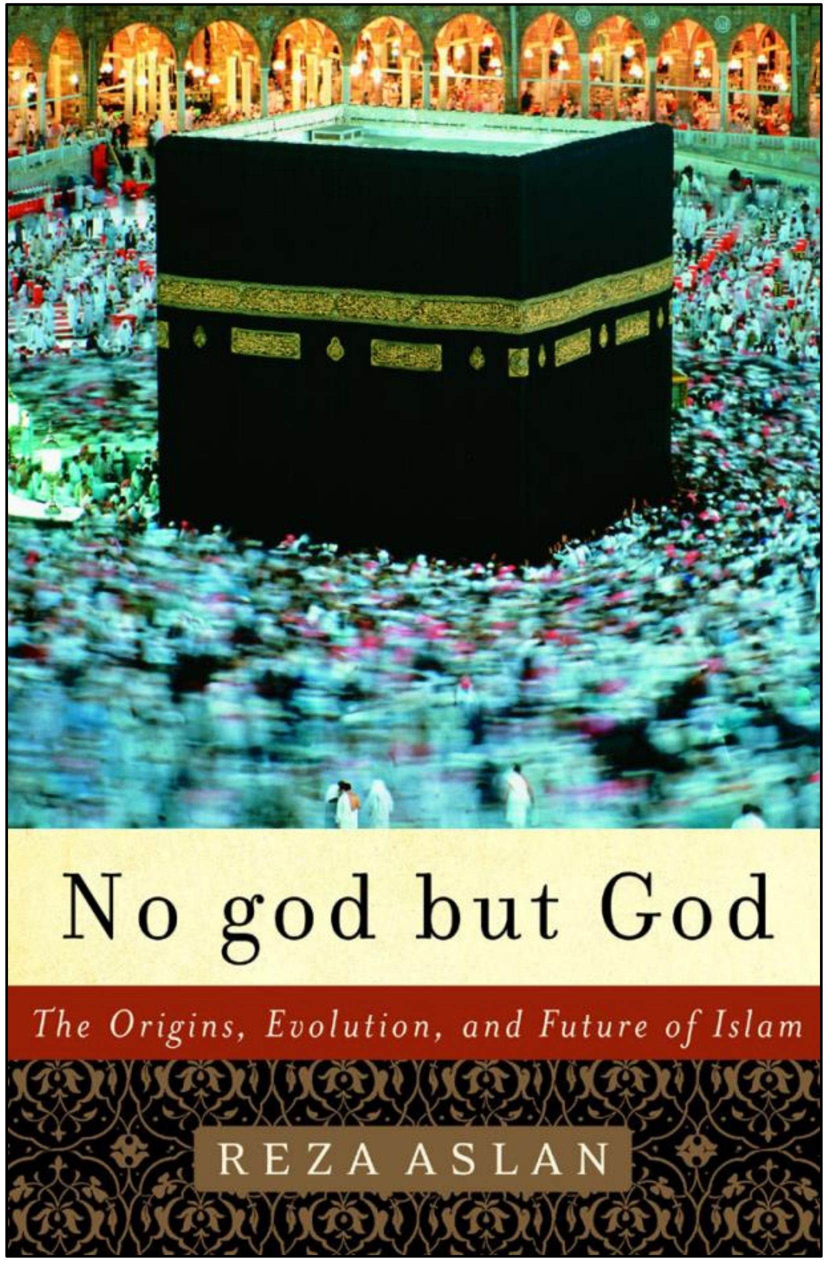
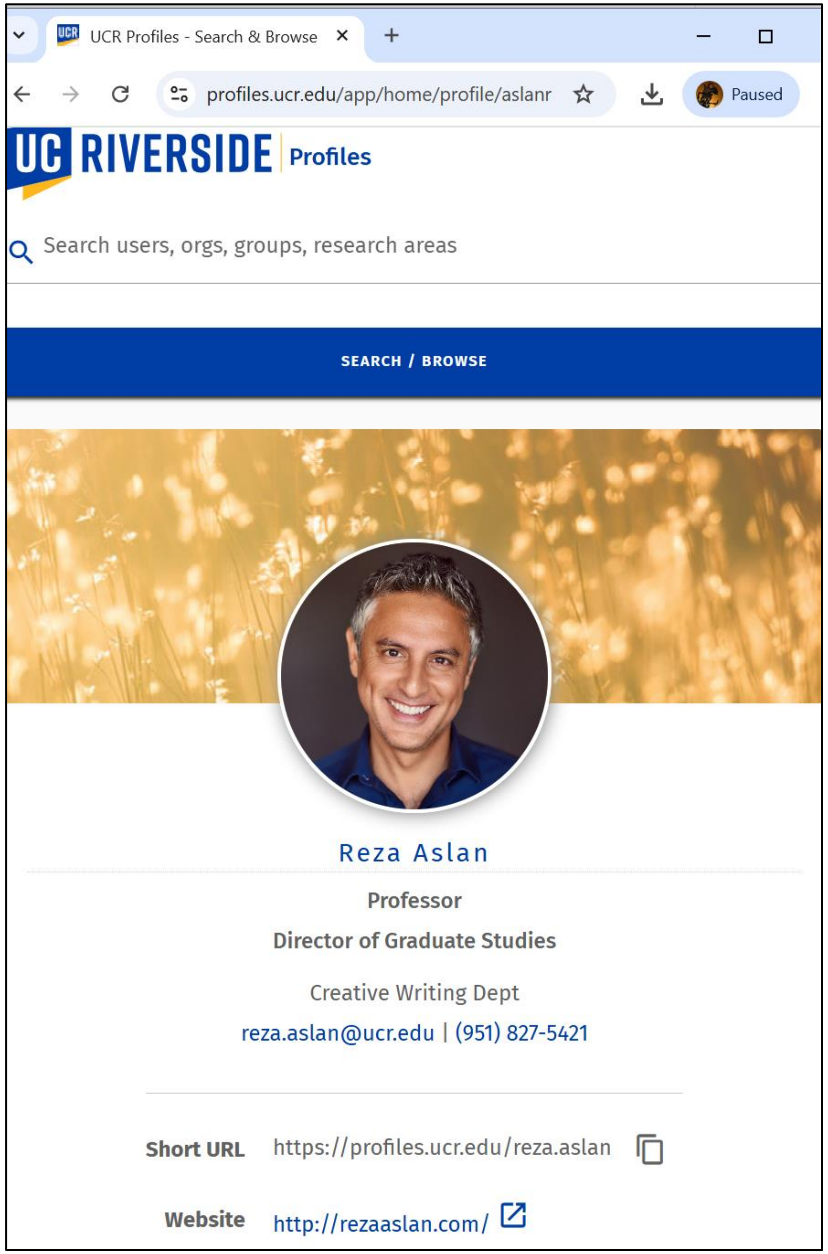
Merriam-Webster
Dictionary
Thesaurus
in the name of
Dictionary
Definition
noun
verb
adjective
Synonyms
Example Sentences
Word History
Phrases Containing
Related Articles
Entries Near
Show More
Save Word
3 a : having an established reputation
b : featuring celebrities
Phrases
in the name of
1 : by authority of
open in the name of the law
2 : for the reason of : using the excuse of
called for reforms in the name of progress
Synonyms



In actuality, the religious experience of the pre-Islamic Arabs was far more complex than this tradition suggests. It is true that before the rise of Islam the Arabian Peninsula was dominated by paganism. But, like "Hinduism," "paganism" is a meaningless and somewhat derogatory catchall term created by those outside the tradition to categorize what is in reality an almost unlimited variety of beliefs and practices. The word *paganus* means "a rustic villager" or "a boor," and was originally used by Christians as a term of abuse to describe those who followed any religion but theirs. In some ways, this is an appropriate designation. Unlike Christianity, paganism is not so much a unified system of beliefs and practices as it is a religious *perspective*, one that is receptive to a multitude of influences and interpretations. Often, though not always, polytheistic, paganism strives for neither universalism nor moral absolutism. There is no such thing as a pagan creed or a pagan canon. Nothing exists that could properly be termed "pagan orthodoxy" or "pagan heterodoxy."

What is more, when referring to the paganism of the pre-Islamic Arabs, it is important to make a distinction between the nomadic Bedouin religious experience and the experience of those sedentary tribes that had settled in major population centers like Mecca. Bedouin paganism in sixth-century Arabia may have encompassed a range of beliefs and practices—from fetishism to totemism to manism (ancestor cults)—but it was not as concerned with the more metaphysical questions that were cultivated in the larger sedentary societies of Arabia, particularly with regard to issues like the afterlife. This is not to say that the Bedouin practiced nothing more than a primitive idolatry. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the Bedouin of pre-Islamic Arabia enjoyed a rich and diverse religious tradition. However, the nomadic lifestyle is one that requires a religion to address immediate concerns: Which god can lead us to water? Which god can heal our illnesses?

In contrast, paganism among the sedentary societies of Arabia had developed from its earlier and simpler manifestations into a complex form of neo-animism, providing a host of divine and semi-divine intermediaries who stood between the creator god and his creation. This creator god was called *Allah*, which is not a proper name but a contraction of the word *al-ilah*, meaning simply "the god." Like his



Arabian Epigraphic Notes 3 (2017): 121–164

New dated inscriptions (Nabataean and pre-Islamic Arabic) from a site near al-Jawf, ancient Dūmah, Saudi Arabia

Laïla Nehmé (CNRS, Orient & Méditerranée)

Abstract

This article publishes eighteen inscriptions: seventeen in the Nabataean script and one in the pre-Islamic Arabic script, all from the area of al-Jawf, ancient Dūmat al-Jandal, in north-west Arabia. It includes the edition of the texts as well as a discussion of their significance. The pre-Islamic Arabic text, DaJ144PAr1, is dated to the mid-sixth century AD. It is important because it is the first text firmly dated to the sixth century AD from north-west Arabia. The Nabataean texts are interesting because they are dated to the beginning of the second century AD and they mention both cavalrymen (Nabataean *pršyʾ*) and a centurion (Nabataean *qnṭrywnʾ*).

Keywords: Nabataean inscriptions Pre-Islamic Arabic Dumah Saudi Arabia Roman Army

1 Introduction

The archaeological and epigraphic surveys undertaken between 2009 and 2017 by the Saudi–Italian–French Archaeological Project in the regions al-Jawf (ancient Dūmah) and Sakākā, in north-west Saudi Arabia,[1] have led to the discovery of a number of sites, twelve of which contain Nabataean, Nabataeo-Arabic (i.e. inscriptions which are clearly transitional between Nabataean and Arabic) or pre-Islamic Arabic (i.e. clearly written in a recognisable form of Arabic script) inscriptions.[2] The author is responsible, in the project, for the publication of the texts written in these three categories of scripts.[3] The examination, in early 2017, of all the photographs taken by the team members

[1] This project is directed by Guillaume Charloux (CNRS, Orient & Mediterranée, France) and Romolo Loreto (University of Naples "L'Orientale", Italy).

[2] To the inscriptions photographed *in situ* should be added a four line inscription carved on a movable stone, photographed by G. Charloux in a window display of the Sudayri Foundation building in Sakākā. A label identifies it as having been brought there by Dr. Nawāf Dūbyān al-Rāshid. The text is unfortunately not readable on the available photographs.

[3] Note that two other epigraphists, Frédéric Imbert and Jérôme Norris, are responsible for the publication of the Arabic and Ancient North Arabian inscriptions respectively. I am grateful to G. Charloux, the co-director of the project, for putting all the project's material at my disposal.

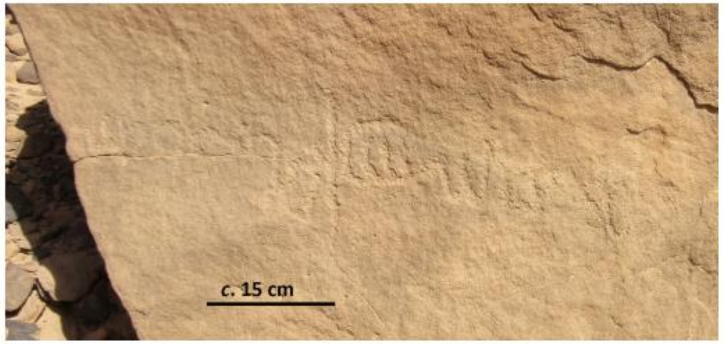


Figure 12: Nabataean inscription DaJ144Nab2 (G. Charloux).

2.3 DaJ144Nab2 (fig. 12)

This text is also written on one of the boulders visible on fig. 4.

{mgyn}t br ʿbdʾlhy ----{b/ṣ}y{d/r}

"{Mgyn}t son of ʿAbdʾallāhī ----{b/ṣ}y{d/r}."

The first name is difficult to read and the suggested reading is the best one I could provide. {Mgyn}t is not attested in Nabataean or Arabic but since all the letters except the last one are uncertain, there is no point in trying to offer an etymology for it. Note the form of the letters *bdʾ* in *ʿbdʾlhy*, which are more or less written as parallel lines, except for the *ʾ* which has an oblique line protruding to the right at its end. This sequence can be compared with the same sequence in the name *ʿbdʾlgʾ* in two inscriptions from Umm Jadhāyidh, ThMNN 587 (UJadh 129) and ThMNN 560 (UJadh 202). The combination of letters *b-d-ʾ* had apparently become some sort of formalized way of writing these letters. A few letters are carved after *ʿbdʾlhy* but I cannot make any sense of them; perhaps it is another name.

2.4 DaJ144Nab3 (fig. 13)

DaJ144Nab3 to 7 (four texts) are carved on the same boulder in the same area as DaJ144Nab1–2. The first one, on top of the rock face, is the most finely carved and occupies a prominent position. Two animal figures are also crudely drawn on the stone. They may represent a horse mounted by a man holding a spear and possibly a small shield, hunting an ostrich.

šlm tymʿbdt br tymw

The same man wrote DaJ144Nab1 in the same area and since he is said in this text to be a *pršʾ*, *tymʿbdt* of DaJ144Nab3 was a *pršʾ* too. The handwriting of both texts is identical.

Figure 13: Nabataean inscriptions DaJ144Nab3–7 (G. Charloux).

2.5 DaJ144Nab4 (fig. 13)

šlm ʿbdt br ʿbdʾlhy br tymw w {d/r}ʿytw

"May ʿObodat son of ʿAbdʾallāhi son of Taymū be safe, and {D/R}ʿytw."

The text is much less carefully written than the previous one. The last name is not previously attested in Nabataean and may correspond to Arabic Dāʿiya. The same man wrote DaJ144Nab7 on the same stone, and the handwriting is similar in both texts, particularly visible in the way the first name is written.

2.6 DaJ144Nab5 + DaJ144Nab6 (fig. 13)

šlm gršʿw [br] tymʿbdt pršʾ šlm

"May Gršʿw [son of] Taymʿobodat the cavalryman be safe."

This graffito was initially considered as two separate texts, but if one examines DaJ144Nab8, where all the names are repeated, it appears likely that *br* should be restored between *gršʿw* and *tymʿbdt*. The first name is not previously attested in Nabataean and I have found no Arabic equivalent. According to J. Norris, to whom I am very grateful for the references which follow, the name Gršʿ appears several times in the so-called "Hismaeo-Safaitic" texts from

Two Pre-Islamic Arabic Inscriptions Revised: Jabal Ramm and Umm Al-Jimāl

Author(s): James A. Bellamy

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announced the discovery in *AJA* ix (1905), p. 409, but it was not until 1929 that he edited the text, with translation and commentary (*ZS* 7 [1929], pp. 197–204). Twenty years later he published several suggested new readings in the record of Arabic inscriptions found by the expedition (Littman [1949], p. 1), but his major contribution is that of 1929. The two later articles are accompanied by a sketch of the inscription made from Littmann's original drawing and the squeeze he took at the time of its discovery. The sketch published in 1949 is somewhat clearer than the earlier one. A good reproduction of the sketch can be found in Grohmann ii, p. 17, which is clearer even than the 1949 sketch from which it was taken. No photograph of the inscription has ever been published, and, as far as I am aware, none was ever made.

According to Littmann's description, the basalt slab, which measures 62 × 31 cm., is placed at the base of a pillar (*unten an einem Pfeiler*) in the northern section of the so-called "Double Church" in Umm al-Jimāl. (In 1905 he had said that it was in the "spring of a church arch.") The stone had been covered with plaster at some time, which Littmann had to remove before he could read it. The letters were originally filled with red paint, and the lower part of the stone has been damaged so that only the upper half of (5) is visible.

Littmann dates the inscription in the sixth century. However, because of the damage to (5), and because the sentiment expressed in the last phrase seems hardly Christian, I suspect that the stone was trimmed off for use as a building block and was plastered over when the church was built, not during some later restoration. (Littmann leaves this question unresolved.) Thus the inscription is earlier than the church; I would date it sometime during the fifth century.

The sketch given below is taken from Grohmann, which, as mentioned, is the clearest of the three. Then follows Littmann's text and translation (1929) and then his later (1949) changes. Thereafter I give my own reading of the Arabic text, both voweled and unvoweled, and finally my translation and commentary.

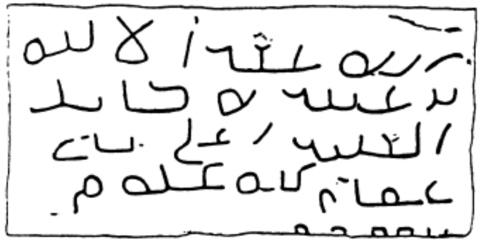


Fig. 4. Littmann's sketch, from Grohmann ii, p. 17.

1 أَللّٰهُ غَفْرًا (غِيَارًا) لِأُلَيْهِ
2 بِن عُبَيْدَه كَاتِب
3 الْخُلَيْد (الْخَبِير) أَعْلَى بَنِى
4 عَمْرِى صَ[لُّو] عَلَ[يْ]هِ مَنْ
5 يَقْرَؤُه

Fig. 5. Littmann's reading (1929), p. 203.

Littmann's translation (1929):

1. [O] Allāh, [gewähre] Verzeihung (Hilfe) dem ʾUlaih,
2. dem Sohne des ʿUbaida, dem Schreiber
3. von al-Ḫulaid (al-Ḫabīr), des Vornehmsten der Banū
4. ʿAmr. Betet für ihn, [o] wer
5. es liest!

In 1949 Littmann notes his preference for *ġafran* over *ġiyāran* (1). In (3) he now reads the name as al-ʿUbayd; in (4) he suggests *tanabbaha*, as an optative, in place of his original *ṣ[lw]*. His new translation is as follows:

1. God, [grant] pardon to ʾUlaih,
2. the son of ʿUbaidah, the secretary
3. of al-ʿUbaid, the chief of the Banū
4. ʿAmr! May have [*sic*] notice of it he who
5. reads it!

Reading by Bellamy:

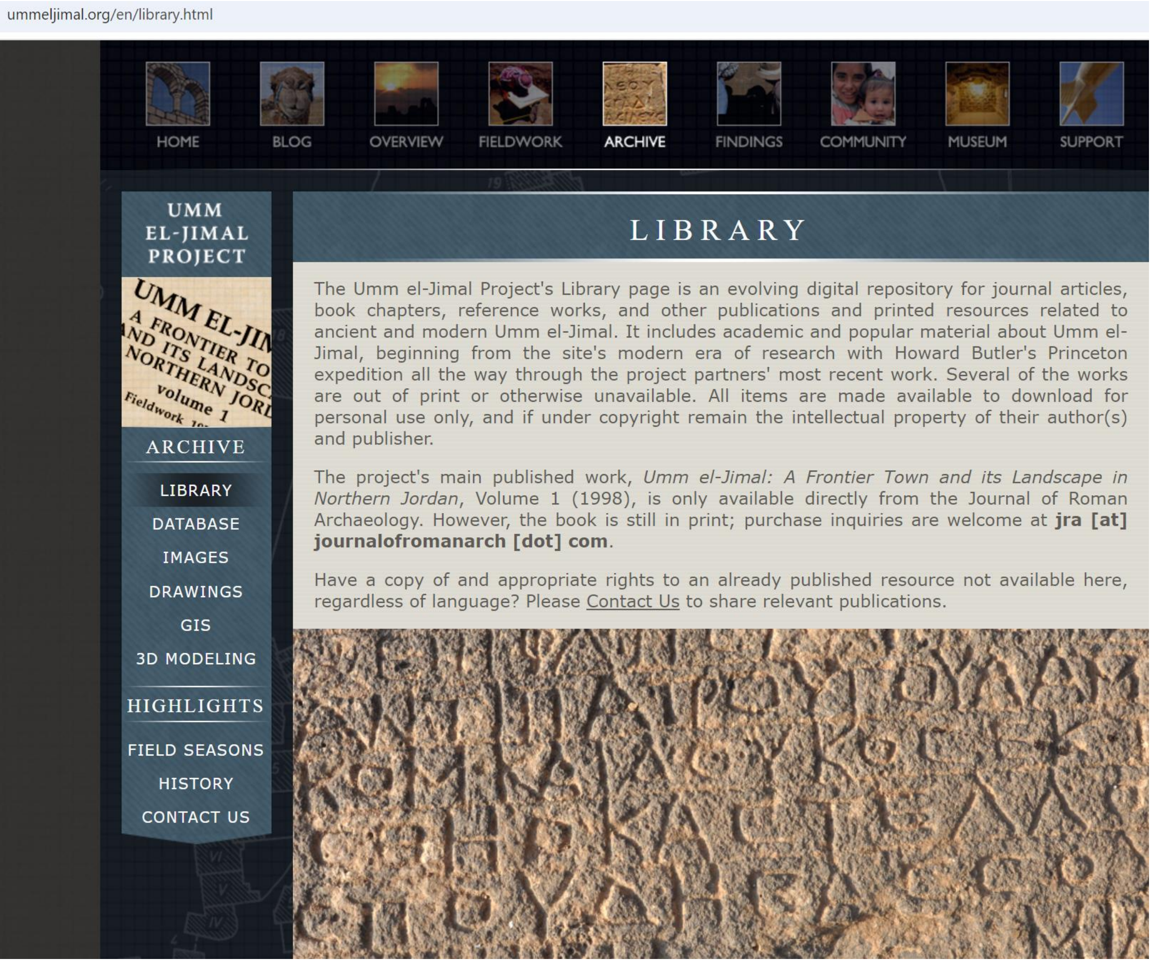
1. brzh ʿqdʾ lʾlyh
2. br ʿbydh kʾtb
3. ʾljnyd ʾʿly ṯʾny
4. ʿmʾny ʿth ʿth mn
5. yymṣḥh

Vocalized:

1. barrazahu ʿuqadāʾu li-ʾUlayh
2. bar ʿUbaydah, kātibi
3. ʾl-junaydi ʾaʿlā ṯānī
4. ʿAmmānī, ʿutiha ʿatha mman
5. yiʾamṣiḥhu

Translation:

1. This (inscription) was set up by colleagues of ʾUlayh
2. son of ʿUbaydah, secretary

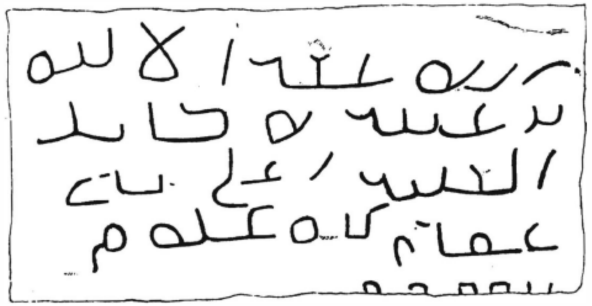


SOUTHERN SYRIA

UMM IDJ-DJIMÂL

1. GRAFFITO. This pre-Islamic graffito was found in the building called "Double Church" by our Expedition, on the south side of the pier at the west end of the northern arcade of the nave of the northern church. These churches have been described by Professor Butler in Div. II A, pp. 179 ff: on p. 182 the place of this graffito has been indicated, and in the photograph (Ill. 157) it is to be recognized. When the graffito was discovered only a part of it was visible, the other part was covered with plaster which I had to remove before I could copy the whole and make a squeeze of it. Professor Butler says: "That this inscription belongs to the Christian period cannot be gainsaid, for it was covered with plaster at some time when the interior of the church was undergoing repairs and decoration, there is no evidence that the building was ever used by the Moslems. The plaster which covered the inscription is of the same quality as that which covered the highly finished details, which is to say the best quality employed by the Christian builders of Syria". It is impossible to say whether the graffito was covered when later repairs were made in the church, or whether it disappeared under the original plaster of the building. In any case, there is no doubt that this is a pre-Islamic, Christian-Arabic writing. The stone on which it is written is basalt; the letters, which were rather carelessly incised, were filled with red paint. The stone measures 62 × 31 cm.; its lower end is somewhat damaged so that the lower half of the letters of the last line has been lost.

E. Littmann, *Die vorislamisch-arabische Inschrift aus Umm iğ-Ğimâl*, in *Z.Sem.* Bd. 7, 1929, pp. 197 ff — *R.C.E.A.* I, pp. 4 f. — This inscription has been mentioned by Hawary in *J.R.A.S.* 1930, p. 333.



Inscr. I. Scale 1 : 6²/₃

الله غفرا لاليه	1	*God, [grant] pardon to ʾUlaih,*
بن عبيدة كاتب	2	*the son of ʿUbaidah, the secretary*
العبيد اعلى بنى	3	*of al-ʿUbaid, the chief of the Banū*
عمرى تنبه علا(يـ)ـه من	4	*ʿAmr! May have notice of it he who*
[يقرؤه]	5	*reads it!*

JSAI 52 (2022)

A PRE-ISLAMIC *BASMALA*: REFLECTIONS ON ITS FIRST EPIGRAPHIC ATTESTATION AND ITS ORIGINAL SIGNIFICANCE[*]

Ahmad Al-Jallad
The Ohio State University

Abstract The Islamic *basmala* is a tripartite formula traditionally translated as 'in the name of Allāh, the most gracious, the most merciful'.[1] It begins each chapter of the Qurʾān, except for Sūra 9, and is found in its full form in Qurʾān 27:30. Given its structure, Neuwirth has suggested that the *basmala* is a reworking of the Christological formula, *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost* (e.g. Matthew 28:19).[2] Similar invocations are found in the Ancient South Arabian monumental texts from the monotheistic period and in Gəʿəz.[3] Yet, until recently, no directly comparable pre-Islamic formula in Arabic had been attested. In 2018, M.A. Al-Hajj and A.A. Faqʿas published a unique inscription from Jabal Ḏabūb in the region of al-Ḍāliʿ, Yemen: a South Arabian graffito in the latest stage of the minuscule script containing a variant of the *basmala* in a language distinct from the Late Sabaic written register.[4] In this paper, I wish to refine the interpretation of this text, discuss its language, dating, and its significance for our interpretation of the meaning of the *basmala* in the pre-/paleo-Islamic period.[5]

Keywords Ancient South Arabian, *basmala*, *Musnad*, Paleo-Islam, pre-Islamic Arabia

[*] I thank Professor Manfred Kropp, Dr. David Kiltz, and May Shaddel for their helpful suggestions and improvements on an earlier draft of this article. All errors are mine.

[1] On the traditional understanding of the *basmala*, see Carra de Vaux and Gardet, "Basmalah." See Reynolds, *Allah*, pp. 94-96 for a balanced discussion of the traditional opinions.

[2] Matthew 28:19: πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς **εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.** See Neuwirth, *Qur'an and Late Antiquity*, p. 116–117.

[3] The South Arabian comparanda have been compiled by I. Gajda, *Le royaume de Ḥimyar*, pp. 226–231. The Christian *basmala* in Gəʿəz is በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ: አንድ: አምላክ። 'in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God'. For an excellent discussion of this invocation and its importance to the understanding of the Muslim *basmala*, see Kropp, "Im Namen Gottes."

[4] Al-Hajj and Faqʿas, "Naqš Jabal Ḏabūb," henceforth *ed. princ.* = Editio Princeps.

[5] I follow Al-Azmeh's use of this term to signify the period of the formation of the proto-Qurʾānic community and the Medinian state; see Al-Azmeh, *Islam in Late Antiquity*, ch. 6.

Part I: The inscription, its reading and interpretation

1 The original edition

The two-line graffito was carved vertically on a side of a cliff near a small cave. Unlike most rock inscriptions, the text is written in the minuscule variant of the South Arabian script, the hand typically reserved for writing day-to-day documents on sticks.[6] The *editio princeps* contains an in-depth discussion of the inscription's paleography; it suffices to say that the letter shapes of the text date to the very latest stage of South Arabian documentation, sometime after the 5th century CE.[7] We will return to the matter of its date following a discussion of its contents, which ultimately must bear on this question.

The *editio princeps* reads the text as follows and provides two interpretations.[8]

Line 1: *bs^1mlh | rḥmn | rḥmn | rb | s^1mwt*
Line 2: *r{z}{q}n | mfḍlk | wʾṯrn | mḫh | s^2kmt ʾymn*

Interpretation 1:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم رب السموات
الرزاق (الذي) مفضلك (أيها الانسان) والمردف نعمه عليك (بأن) أعطاك الايمان

Interpretation 2:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم رب السموات
(أسألك) الرزق من فضلك وأن تمنح عقله (قبله) قوة(حلاوة) الايمان

[6] See Al-Hajj and Faqʿas, "Naqš Jabal Ḏabūb," pp. 39–42 for other examples of the minuscule script on rock. For an outline of the languages of pre-Islamic Yemen, see Stein, "Ancient South Arabian," and the script chart on p. 1045 for examples of the chronological development of the letter shapes. On literacy in pre-Islamic South Arabia, see Stein, "Literacy in pre-Islamic Arabia" and for a bird's-eye view of the entire Peninsula, see Macdonald, "Written word" and Al-Jallad, "Linguistic landscape." On the paleography of the Ancient South Arabian script, see Drewes *et al.*, "Some absolute dates."

[7] Al-Hajj and Faqʿas, "Naqš Jabal Ḏabūb," pp. 39–42.

[8] Editorial marks: {} = abnormal shape; damaged letter; | = word divider; in the interpretation () = supplied word.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

ARABIAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND EPIGRAPHY WILEY

A Palaeo-Arabic inscription from the Ḥismā Desert (Tabūk region)

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Abstract
The current study discusses a Palaeo-Arabic inscription found in the Ḥismā desert and engraved by a man named ʿAbd Šams, son of al-Muġīrah, who likely belonged to the Qurayš tribe. This inscription is particularly important as it is an addition to the Palaeo-Arabic corpus, as well as the first one in which an attested Palaeo-Arabic opening invocation with the deity's name *Allāhumma* is mentioned. It is also the second Palaeo-Arabic inscription that refers to the Lord by the Arabic term *Rabb* and the first inscription in which the personal name ʿAbd Šams is written in Arabic script. The inscription was documented by its finder, Muhammed Abdul Nayeem, and it was recently redocumented by the Saudi citizen Saleh al-Hwaiti. This essay discusses the text in terms of meaning, authorship and religious implications.

KEYWORDS
ʿAbd Šams, Arabia, Arabic script, Ḥismā, Palaeo-Arabic inscriptions

1 | INTRODUCTION

The study of the history of pre-Islamic Arabia, especially the two centuries preceding the advent of Islam, has been enjoying renewed interest due to recent archaeological and epigraphic discoveries. Since inscriptions are the only reliable epigraphic material that survived from this era that we know of so far, they are considered important sources for the study of pre-Islamic Arabia in its various aspects (script, language, history and religion). Therefore, the current research presents and discusses a Palaeo-Arabic inscription, which constitutes an important addition to the previously discovered Palaeo-Arabic inscriptions. As is well known, the past decade has witnessed a significant expansion of the available corpus of Palaeo-Arabic inscriptions from the late fifth- and sixth-century CE. Several discoveries were made in Saudi Arabia, first in the Nağrān region by the Saudi–French Archaeological and Epigraphic Mission to Nağrān (MAFSN) as discussed by Christian Robin et al. (2014), as well as in the al-Ğawf region, which was explored by Laïla Nehmé (2017b), and in Ṭāʾif, as analysed by Al-Jallad and Sidky (2022). A further discovery was made in the Jordanian Wādī Ram (Nehmé, 2020). Previously, inscriptions from the century before the advent of Islam were found solely in Syria (e.g., Ḥarrān, Zabad and Ğabal Usays; see Fiema et al., 2015) and in Jordan, such as LPArab 1 (Littmann, 1949, pp. 1–2).[1] Although the corpus is still limited, it is a valuable source for shedding light on the pre-Islamic era.

The inscription studied here (referred to as the Umm Burayrah inscription from here onwards) was first discovered by Muhammed Abdul Nayeem (2000) and recently rephotographed by the Saudi citizen Saleh al-Hwaiti in 2018, who posted it on his Twitter account (Eng.saleh [@ssaa7111], 2018).[2] This inscription is unique in comparison to similar previously discovered inscriptions in particular because of the religious formula used and because of the use of the personal name of the author of the inscription, whose name is given as ʿAbd Šams. To the best of our knowledge, this inscription is not among the inscriptions found between Tabūk and al-ʿUlā that were published online by Farīq al-Ṣaḥrāʾ.[3] This study

[1]For a new edition of the first line of LPArab 1, see Nehmé (2017b, p. 131).
[2]Ajab Mohammad Al-Otibi, a member of a Saudi commission, applied to the Heritage Commission (previously called the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage) to publish the inscription documented by Al-Hwaiti and Abdullelah al-Farss, the director of the Tabūk branch of Saudi commissions, in 2019. Al-Farss kindly sent us a picture of the inscription and its geographical coordinates. The inscription is registered in the archive of the Heritage Commission under the number 0701008945.
[3]Al-Ṣaḥrāʾ published a number of Palaeo-Arabic inscriptions discovered between Tabūk and al-ʿUlā on his website نقوش عربية بـ"الكتة" نبطية! (https://alsahra.org).

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FIGURE 1 General view of the site of Umm Burayrah (photographed by Abdullelah al-Farss).

mainly focuses on the importance of the inscription as regards various aspects, including language, history and palaeography. It also examines the usage of the personal name ʿAbd Šams and the added value, from the religious studies' point of view, of the retention of this name during the period immediately preceding the rise of Islam.

The inscription under investigation was discovered in the Ḥismā desert in an isolated mountain at the site of Umm Burayrah (Figure 1) in the south of Ğabal al-Safīnah, north-west of Tabūk, as shown on the map (Figure 2). The site of Umm Burayrah is not mentioned in the Muslim sources, but the Ḥismā desert was known by Muslim geographers such as Yāqūt Al-Ḥamawī (1977, p. 258). The site was recently surveyed by Maysāʾ al-Ġabbān, 2016/2017, p. 66), who suggests that Umm Burayrah was a stopping place for travellers between Arabia and Syria. This inscription is the only Palaeo-Arabic inscription found on this site, next to others in Thamudic and Nabataean. The recent surveys conducted in Ḥismā by Al-Anṣārī et al. (2002), al-Ġabbān (2016/2017) and ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Saʿīd et al. (2017) led to the discovery and publication of early Islamic inscriptions dated to the first centuries of the Hijra.

2 | THE INSCRIPTION

The inscription is written in Arabic script without any diacritical signs. It is a short text consisting of nine words on one line, starting with an opening invocation,[4] followed by a personal name and ending with a prayer for forgiveness. The inscription is engraved on a sandstone rock, and yet, the letters are well preserved. On the same stone surface, other inscriptions are found in North Arabian scripts (Thamudic) and one in Nabatean, in addition to a number of drawings. The Palaeo-Arabic text was carved on both sides of a previously existing Thamudic inscription, of which three letters are visible between the *alif* and the *lām* of the inscribed Arabic name al-Muġīrah. The boulder measures 175 × 10 cm, and it is located about 2 m above the ground (Figures 3 and 4).

بسمك اللهم أنا عبد شمس بر المغيرة
يستغفر ربه

bi-smika Allāhumma anā ʿAbd Šams br al-Muġīrah, yastaġfir Rabbahu.

In your name, God, I, ʿAbd Šams, son of al-Muġīrah, seek forgiveness from my Lord.[5]

[4]This term was suggested by Al-Jallad (personal communication, 22 March 2023).
[5]Literally 'he seeks forgiveness from his Lord'. This formula, however, clearly relates to the author of the inscription, who speaks of himself as the first person in the foregoing clause (see the comments on the formula in Section 7).

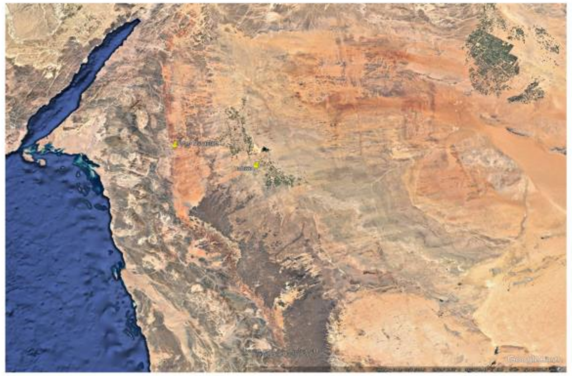

FIGURE 2 Google Earth photograph showing the site where the inscription was discovered.

FIGURE 3 Umm Burayrah inscription (photographed by Abdullelah al-Farss).

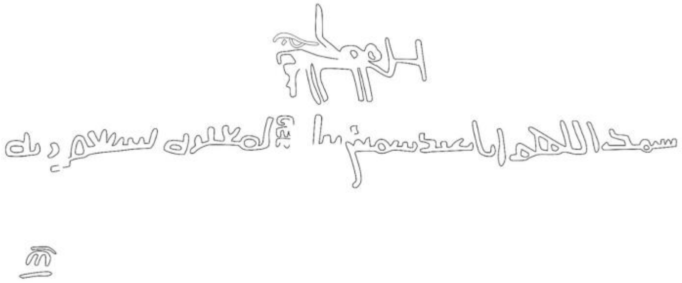

FIGURE 4 Facsimile of the Umm Burayrah inscription by Mina Mouhareb.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Islamic Awareness

Dūmat Al-Jandal Inscription: A Pre-Islamic Nabateo-Arabic Inscription From 548-549 CE

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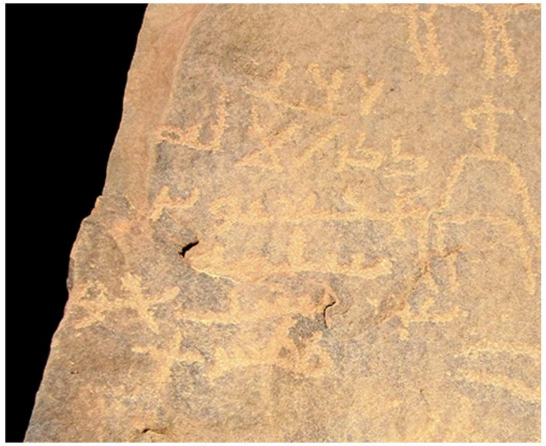

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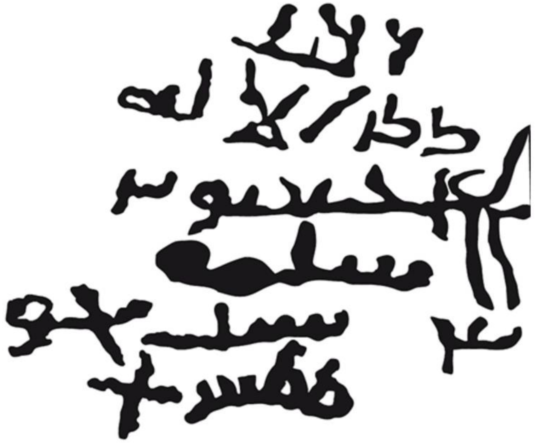

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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Zebed Inscription: A Pre-Islamic Trilingual Inscription In Greek, Syriac & Arabic From 512 CE

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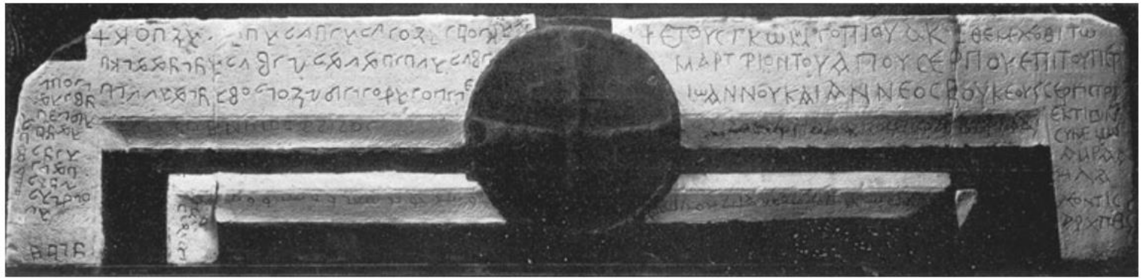
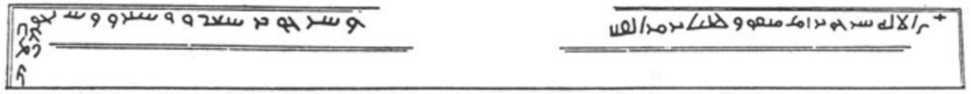
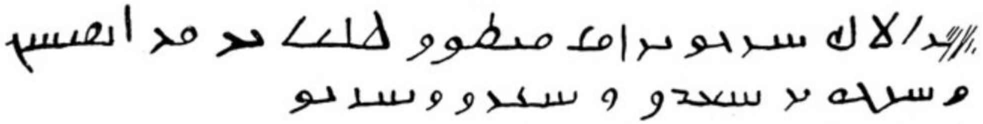


(a)



(b)



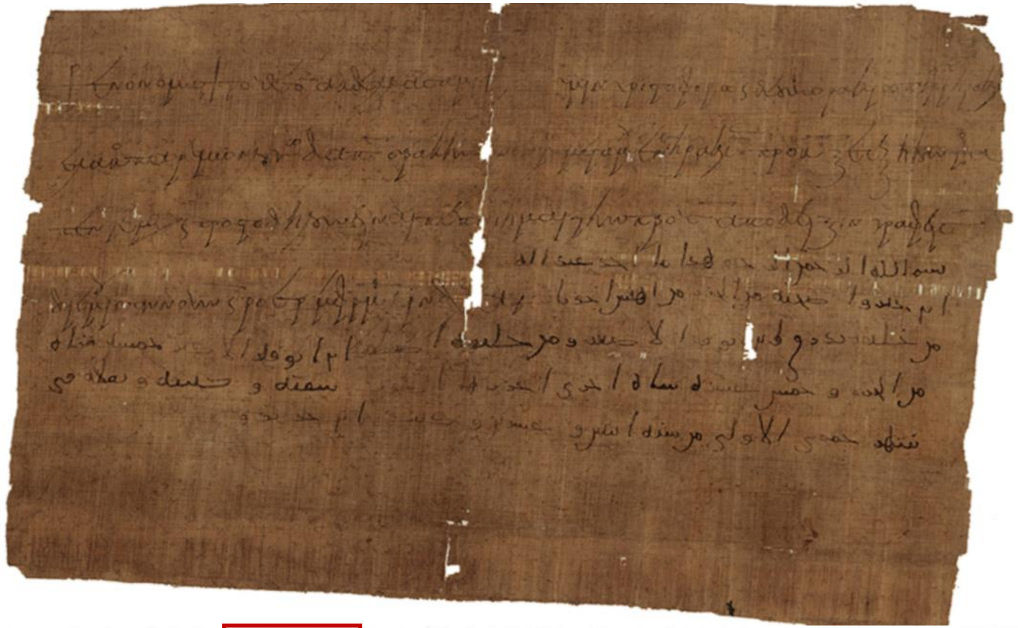
(c)

PERF 558

Article Talk

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

PERF 558 is the oldest surviving Arabic papyrus,[1] found in Heracleopolis in Egypt, and is also the oldest dated Arabic text using the Islamic era, dating to 643.[2] It is a bilingual Arabic-Greek fragment,[3] consisting of a tax receipt,[4] or as it puts it "Document concerning the delivery of sheep to the Magarites and other people who arrived, as a down-payment of the taxes of the first indiction."[5]



1 ⳩ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἀβδέλλας ἀμιρᾶς· ὑμῖν Χριστοφόρῳ (καὶ) Θεοδωρακίῳ παγάρχ(οις) Ἡρακλέ(ους)

2 ἔλαβο(ν) παρ' ὑμῶν λόγῳ δαπ(ανημάτων) σαρακηνῶν ὄντω(ν) μετὰ μοῦ ἐν τ(ῇ) Ἡρακλέ(ους) πρόβ(ατα) ξε ἑξήκοντα

3 πέντε μ(όνα) (καὶ) πρὸς τὸ δῆλον εἶναι πεποίημαι τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπό-δειξιν γραφεῖσ(αν)

4 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا ما اخذ عبد الله (sic)

5 δι' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου ν(ο)τ(αρίου) (καὶ) ρος (= διακόνου) ⳩ μ(ηνὸς) Φαρμ(ου)θ(ὶ) λ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α ⳩ من اهنس من الجزر ابن جبر واصحبه من الجزر اخذنا

(1) Σούρα ελ-Φάτιχα Μέρος 1ο 1 الجزء ١ سورة الفاتحة ١

(1) Σούρα ελ-Φάτιχα (Το Εναρκτήριο)

1. Στο όνομα του ΑΛΛΑΧ του Παντελεήμονα, του Πολυεύσπλαχνου (Μπισμιλλάχιρραχμάνιρραχίμ).
بِسْمِ ٱللَّهِ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنِ ٱلرَّحِيمِ ١

2. Η Δόξα ανήκει στον ΑΛΛΑΧ, τον Άρχοντα όλων των κόσμων.
ٱلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ ٱلْعَٰلَمِينَ ٢

3. Τον Παντελεήμονα, τον Πολυεύσπλαχνο.
ٱلرَّحْمَٰنِ ٱلرَّحِيمِ ٣

4. Τον Ηγεμόνα της Ημέρας της Κρίσης.
مَٰلِكِ يَوْمِ ٱلدِّينِ ٤

5. Εσένα μόνο λατρεύουμε και Εσένα μόνο ικετεύουμε για να μας παρέχεις τη βοήθειά Σου.
إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ ٥

6. Καθοδήγησέ μας στον ορθό δρόμο.
ٱهْدِنَا ٱلصِّرَٰطَ ٱلْمُسْتَقِيمَ ٦

7. Τον δρόμο εκείνων, που τους χάρισες την Ευλογία Σου, όχι εκείνων που περιέπεσαν στην Οργή Σου και που Παραστράτησαν.
صِرَٰطَ ٱلَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ ٱلْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا ٱلضَّآلِّينَ ٧

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PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND HISTORY OF ORIENTAL CULTURE IN THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE

VOLUME I

PROTOCOLS AND LEGAL TEXTS
WITH TWENTY PLATES

CAIRO
Egyptian Library Press
1934

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a

Period of Abu 'l-ʿAbbâs al-Walîd b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwân.
Caliph: 14th Šawwâl, 86 A.H. to 15th Ǧumâdâ II, 96 A.H. (8th October, 705 A.D. to 25th February, 715 A.D.).

1

Inv. nº 6. 705–715 A.D. Formulary: II A 3 b.

Light brown, strong papyrus, 18·6 × 22·5 cm. The text of the protocol, written in blackish brown ink, completely fills up the first sheet of the roll, 17 cm. high; of the second sheet only a strip, 1·7 cm wide, is preserved. The Alif is 1·5 cm high, Greek letters of medium size 0·8 to 1·4 cm, those with upper length 1·3 cm. Below the protocol, and separated by a blank space 1·5 cm wide, a Coptic text of 10 lines in black ink is written, partly parallel to the horizontal fibres of the second sheet of the roll and partly across the vertical fibres of the protocol.

Place of discovery uncertain, perhaps Aphrodito.

The protocol is fairly well preserved, the left half of the protocol being broken off. The Coptic text is much damaged.

1. [In the na]me of God, the
2. [Compassio]nate and Merciful.

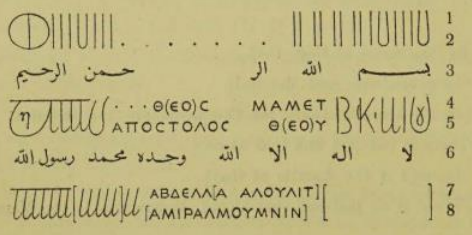
3

Inv. nº 62. 705–715 A.D. Formulary: II A 3 d.

Yellow-brown strong papyrus. 13×34·4 cm. The text of the protocol is written in blackish-brown ink, the Alif 2·1 cm. high, Greek letters of medium size 0·8–2·1 cm. The reverse is blank.

Place of discovery unknown.

The first and last two lines of the text are almost completely broken off.



1. ....
2. ....
3. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
4. ... God, Mamet
5. (is the) Apostle of God.
6. There is no god but God alone, Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.
7. The servant of God [Alulit]
8. [Commander of the faithful.]

4. No parallel can be found for the perpendicular writing of the left side. In that of the right side following upon Ȝ (cf. *CPR* III, I, 2, p. XVIII) K can be recognized (cf. nº $2_{1\text{-}2}$, $18_{1\text{-}2,\ 7\text{-}8}$, $26_{7\text{-}8}$). For the γ included in a cartouche cf. *CPR* III, I, 2, nº 41 (p. 39), 102 (p. 86) and the introduction p. XIX.

2. Only the lower parts of the seven letters of this line remain. It would seem that τοῦ was originally at the beginning, what followed can no longer be determined.—**4.** The first three letters are no longer easily recognizable, the first looks like ε; it may be an abbreviation of ἐστιν, but judging by the space ἐστι could just be included.—**7.** αβδε is easily distinguishable, while of λλααλου only the upper parts remain; the rest is wanting.

4

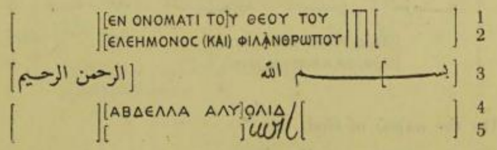
Inv. nº 31. 705–715 A.D. Formulary: II A 10.

Light-brown, coarse-fibred, cardboard-like papyrus. 10·3×17 cm.

The text of the protocol is written in blackish-brown ink, the Alif is 1·6 cm high, Greek letters of medium size 0·8 cm, those with lower length 1·5 cm high. On the reverse one Greek line is written with black ink across the horizontal fibres.

Place of discovery unknown.

The fragment is of the right half of the protocol and in good preservation.



1. [In the name] of God, the
2. [Compassionate and Me]rciful.
3. [In the na]me of God, [the Compassionate, the Merciful].
4. [The servant of God Alv]olid
5. [ ].........

5

Inv. nº 18. 705–715 A.D. Formulary: II B 2 c.

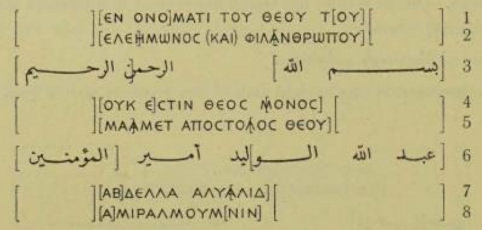
Light brown, strong papyrus. 16·2×10·3 cm. The text of the protocol is written in blackish brown ink, the Alif is 1·4 cm high, Greek letters

4. The ο of αλυ]ολιδ is not certain; the remnants of the letter preceding would prompt one to supply υ, and this restoration may be confirmed by the form αλυαλιδ which occurs in no 5_7.—**5.** I can suggest nothing here. One would expect to find the title of the Caliph (ἀμιραλμουμνιν) or the formula ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνα συμβούλου, but the letters visible are too badly formed to give any certain reading.

of medium size 0·6–0·8 cm, those with lower length 1·3 cm. On the reverse are three lines of a Greek document written in black ink across the horizontal fibres.

Place of discovery unknown.

Only the middle part of the protocol is preserved.



1. [In the na]me of God, th[e]
2. [Com]passionate and Merci[ful].
3. [In the name] of God, the Compassion[ate, the Merciful.]
4. [There is] no god but God alo[ne],
5. [Maa]met is the Apost[le of God].
6. [The servant of God al-Wa]lîd, Commander of [the faithful.]
7. [The ser]vant of God, Alva[lid],
8. [Co]mmander of the faith[ful].

2. For ἐλεήμωνος cf. nº 10_2 and *CPR* III, I, 2, nº 2_2 (p. 4).

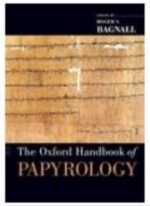
7. For αλυ[αλιδ] cf. αλυ]ολιδ in nº 4_4 and αλουαλιδ in nº 11_8, as also *CPR* III, I, 2, p. 87, 88, nº 25_7, 32_1.

6

Inv. nº 50. 705–715 A.D. Formulary: I 7.

Light brown, fine papyrus. 8·3×11·3 cm.

The text of the protocol is written in blackish brown ink, the Alif is 1 cm high, Greek letters of medium size 0·6–0·7 cm, those with lower



The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology
Roger S. Bagnall (ed.)
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CHAPTER

18 The Multilingual Environment of Late Antique Egypt: Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Persian Documentation

Jean-Luc Fournet

https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199843695.013.0018 Pages 418–451
Published: 18 September 2012

Abstract

This article considers three languages—Coptic, Latin, and Pehlevi—all of which were widely spoken and written in Egypt in the fourth to seventh centuries, analyzing their use and interaction with Greek, which remained the official language and is by far the most abundantly documented. Each of these languages poses in a distinctive way the problem of multilingualism or of multiliteracy and presents a nuanced picture, ranging from a nearly total and deliberate absence of bilingualism to a deep bilingualism (where the relationship between the languages tends to reverse itself), passing by way of diglossia.

Keywords: Coptic language, Latin language, Pehlevi language, Egypt, multilingualism, multiliteracy, deep bilingualism

Subject: Historical Archaeology, Greek and Roman Papyrology, Classical Studies

Series: Oxford Handbooks

Collection: Oxford Handbooks Online

Did the multilingual environment of late antique Egypt change fundamentally compared to earlier periods? The linguistic situation of the fourth to seventh centuries does not at first seem much different from that of the past: As in the Ptolemaic period and under Roman rule, we find the same coexistence of an Egyptian substrate and a Greek-speaking population, plus, since the Roman conquest, a Latin-speaking element with a fairly marginal place But over the centuries the relationships between these three languages evolved, and,
p. 419 leaving to ↳ one side some isolated cases (Armenian and Syriac), late antiquity witnessed two important changes: (1) the Sassanid occupation, which produced documentation in Pehlevi, and (2) the emergence of a new script intended to record the contemporary vernacular language, Coptic. I limit myself here to these three languages—Coptic, Latin, and Pehlevi, all of which were widely spoken and written in Egypt in the

bishops in the Thebaid did not speak Greek because they came from monastic circles to which they remained closely tied? In any event, it is noticeable that the acts with the most significant legal implications (sales or exchanges of property) date either to the Persian period (619–629) or to the Arab period (after 642), that is, to times of the weakness or disappearance of Byzantine power.

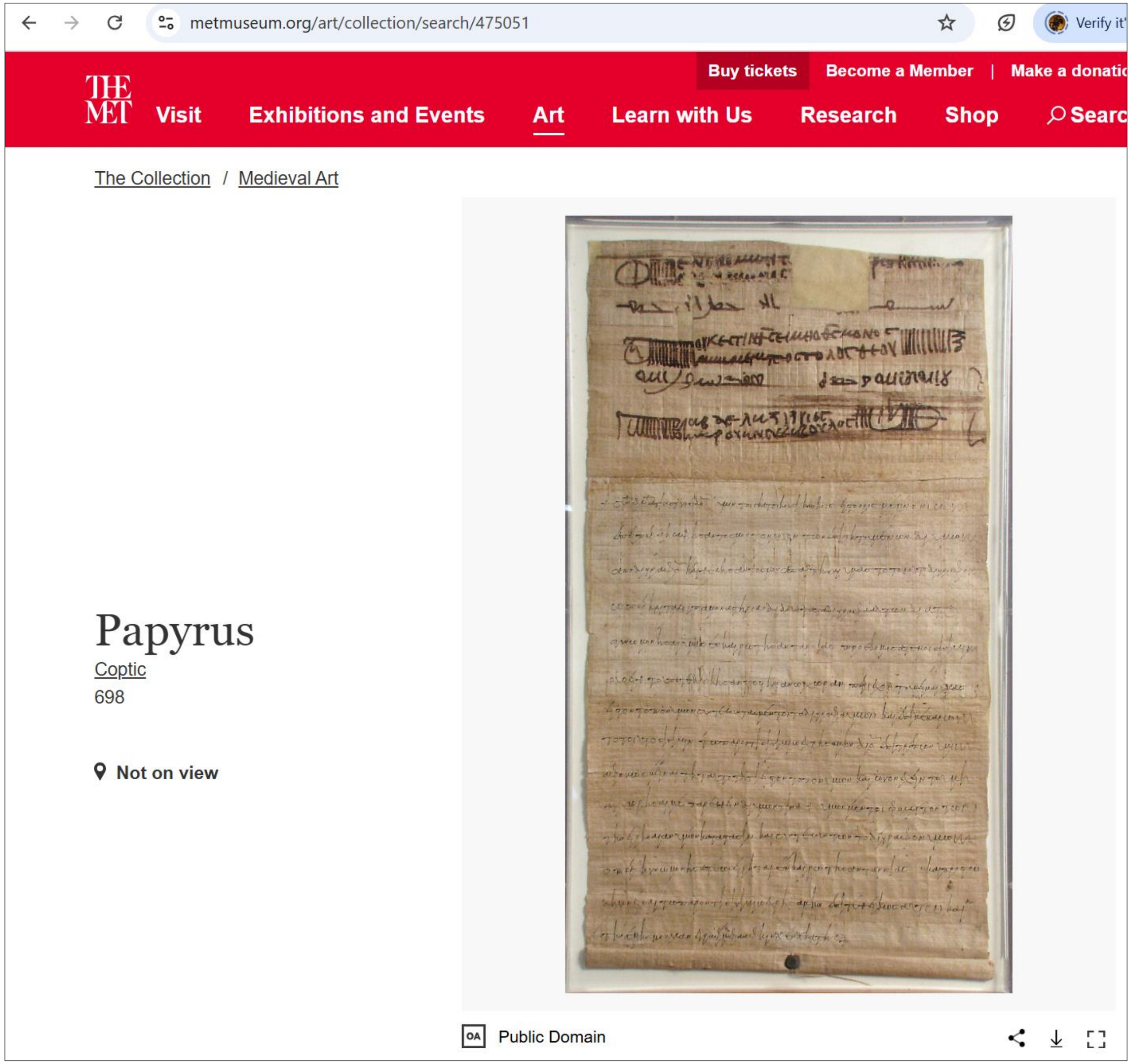
(3) After 642: The Rise of Coptic in All Types of Writing

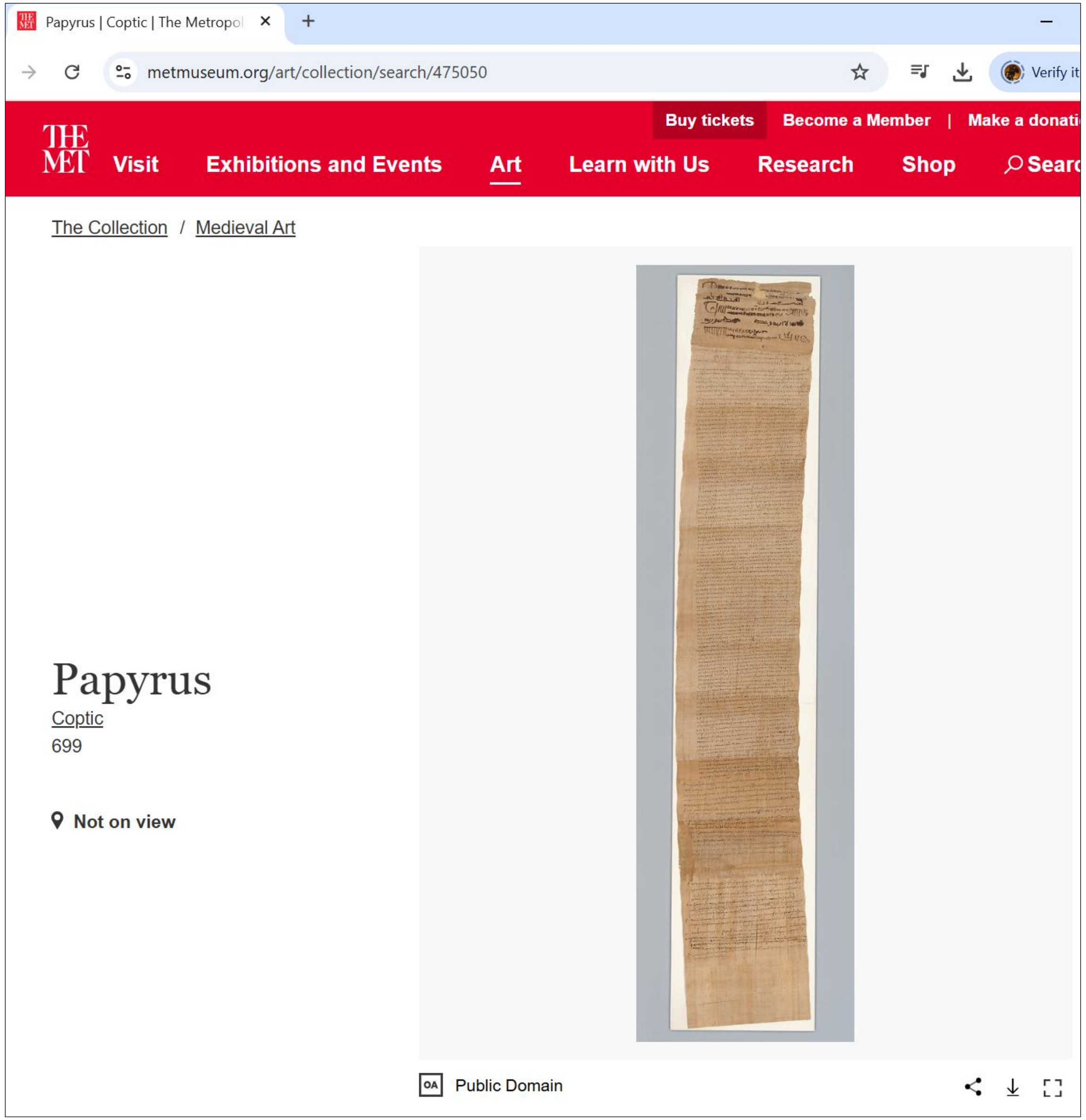
With the end of Byzantine domination as a result of the Arab conquest, Greek lost its exclusive status for legal documents, the number of which in Coptic rapidly increases at the expense of Greek, until Arabization in turn drives Coptic into disuse. Greek nonetheless continued in use until the eighth century (Worp 1984). It must, however, be stressed that, until that point, Coptic legal documents, which in any case owed much of their phraseology to their Greek counterparts, often continued to be preceded (after a Graeco-Arabic protocol) by an invocation and a dating formula in Greek, or at least concluded with a Greek notarial subscription (figure 18.11). This "fossilized" Greek plays, mutatis mutandis, the same role that Latin
p. 442 occupies in a number of documents of an earlier period, giving them an official tone. ↳

Figure 18.11. The beginning of a Coptic legal text (a release) with a Graeco-Arabic protocol, a Greek invocation, and a dating formula (*P.CLT* I, 698 CE; Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Numbers 24.2.3a-c). Image copyrighted by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Some Aspects of Coptic Literacy in Greek

The historical circumstances of late antique Egypt made Greek indispensable in the administrative sphere, the business world, and the liturgy. The Copts were thus pushed toward bilingualism, that is, acquiring some Greek literacy.





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islamic-awareness.org/history/islam/papyri/enlp11 Paused

A Bilingual Protocol Text Mentioning The Caliph Al-Walīd - Egyptian National Library Inv. No. 67, 90-91 AH / 709-710 CE

Islamic Awareness

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First Composed: 18th December 2005

Last Modified: 19th December 2005

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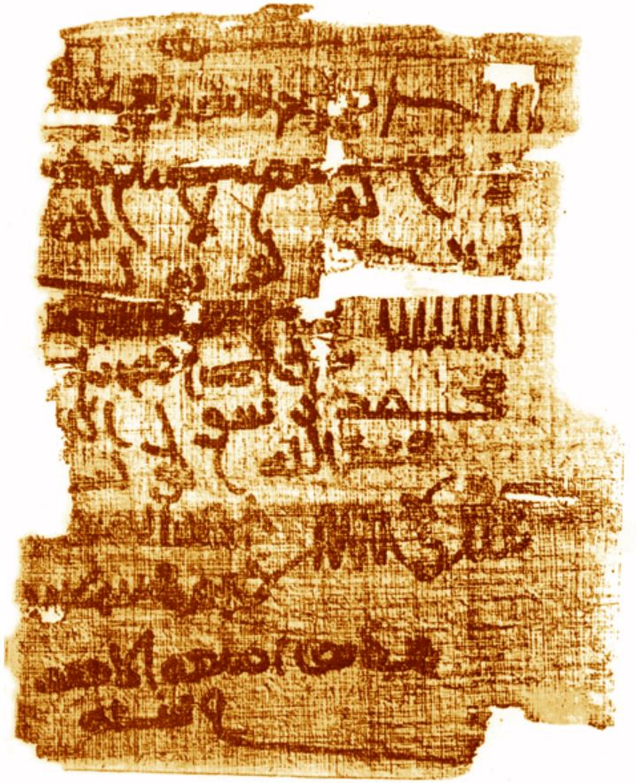
Assalamu ʿalaykum wa rahamatullahi wa barakatuhu:



(b)

Accession No.

Inv. No. 67.

Contents

The translation of text is given below. The Arabic text is in *italics*:

1. *[In the n]ame of Go[d, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*
2. [In the name of God, the Compassio]nate, the Merciful.
3. [There is no god but God alo]ne, Maamet is the Messenger of God.
4. *There is no god but God [alone, and He has no associate]*
5. *He begets not, nor is He beg[otten and He has none that is like unto Him]*
6. [ ]
7. [ ] to true religion.
8. *Muḥammad is the Messenger of Go[d, He has sent him with guidance and true religion]*
9. *The servant of God Al-Walī[d, Commander of the Faithful]*
10. [The servant of God Alulid, Commander of] the Faithful.
11. [ʿAbdallah bin ʿAbd al-Mal]ik, governer.
12. *This belongs to that which was decreed by the Amir [ʿAbdallāh bin ʿAbd al-Malik]*
13. *in the year [eighty nine].*

Comments

The χ in the cartouche of the perpendicular writing [lines 10 and 11 of Fig. (b)] of the right side means the seventh indiction, i.e., 708/9 CE.

Location

Egyptian National Library, Cairo.

https://www.islamic-awareness.org/history/islam/papyri/enlp11

A Bilingual Protocol Text Mentic

islamic-awareness.org/history/islam/papyri/mori1.html

Paused

Islamic Awareness

A Bilingual Protocol Text Mentioning The Caliph Al-Walīd - Egyptian National Library Inv. No. 66, 95-96 AH / 714-715 CE

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First Composed: 18th December 2005

Last Modified: 19th December 2005

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Assalamu ʿalaykum wa rahamatullahi wa barakatuhu:

(a)

(b)

Figure: (a) Picture of the papyrus and (b) the content of the papyrus.

Date

95-96 AH / 714-715 CE.

Size

15.5 cm x 23 cm. Yellow-brown, in several places darker coloured, coarse cardboard-like papyrus. The text of the protocol, written in blackish brown ink, occupies the first sheet of the roll entirely. On the reverse there are two lines of a Coptic text written in black ink across the horizontal fibres.

Accession No.

Inv. No. 66.

Contents

The translation of text is given below. The Arabic text is in *italics*:

1. *[In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*
2. [In the na]me of God, the
3. [Compas]sionate and Merciful
4. *[There is no] god but God alone, Mu[ḥammad is the Messenger of God].*
5. [There] is no god but God alone,
6. [Maa]met is the Apostle of God.
7. *The servant of God, Al-Walīd, Com[mander of the Faithful]*
8. [The servant of God] Alulid
9. [Commander of the Faith]ful

Comments

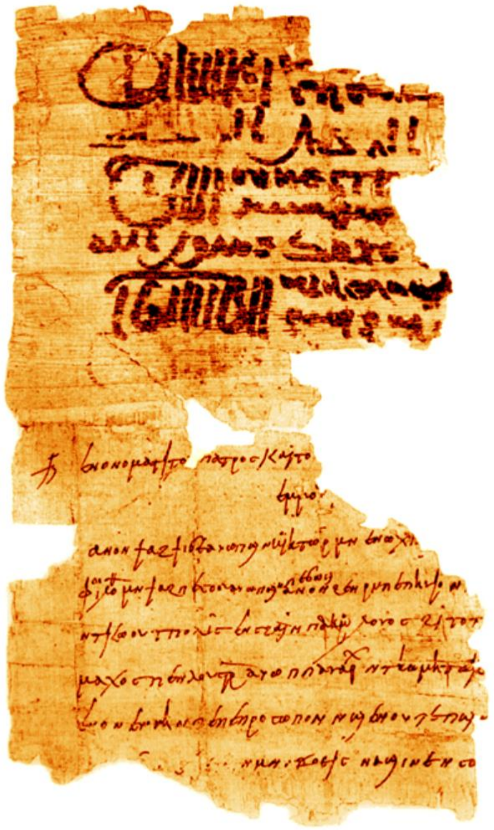
The cartouche of the perpendicular writing on the right hand side contains δ and below this is the figure ιγ meaning the thirteenth indiction, 714/15 CE [lines 8 and 9 of Fig. (b)].

Location

Egyptian National Library, Cairo.

https://www.islamic-awareness.org/history/islam/papyri/mori1.html

Assalamu 'alaykum wa rahamatullahi wa barakatuhu:



(a)

(b)

Figure: (a) Picture of the papyrus and (b) the content of the papyrus.

https://www.islamic-awareness.org/history/islam/papyri/enlp1

Date

86-96 AH / 705-715 CE.

Size

35.8 cm. x 21.3 cm. It has Arabic and Greek text.

It is a light brown, strong papyrus. The text of the protocol, written in blackish brown ink, occupies the whole first sheet of the roll, 18.4 cm. high; the annexed second sheet of the roll, of which a piece, 17.4 cm. high, still survives, bears eight lines of a Coptic document written in black ink across the horizontal fibres. More than half of the protocol has disappeared from the right hand side.

Accession No.

Inv. No. 61.

Contents

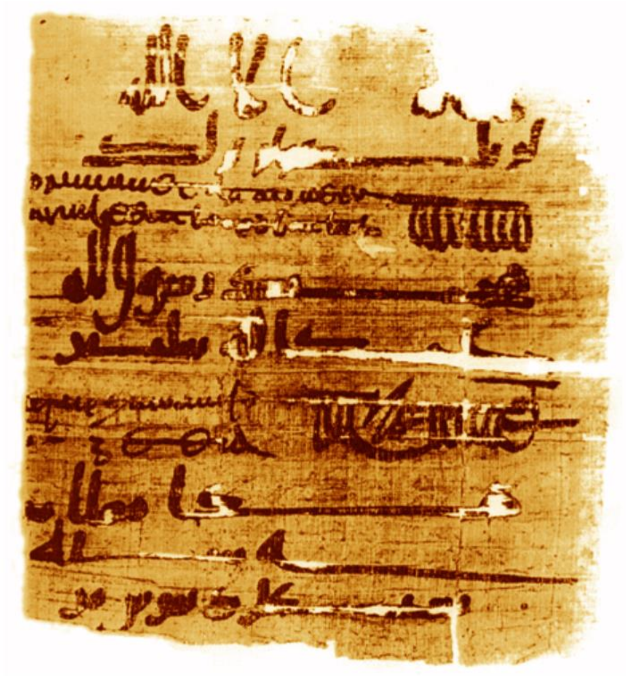
The translation of the document is given below. The Arabic text is in *italics*:

1. In [the name of God, the]
2. Compassio[nate and Merciful]
3. *[In the name of God], the Compassionate and Merciful.*
4. There is [no god but God alone,]
5. Maame[t is the Apostle of God]
6. *[There is no god but God alone], Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.*
7. The servant of God A[lulid],
8. Commander of the f[aithful].

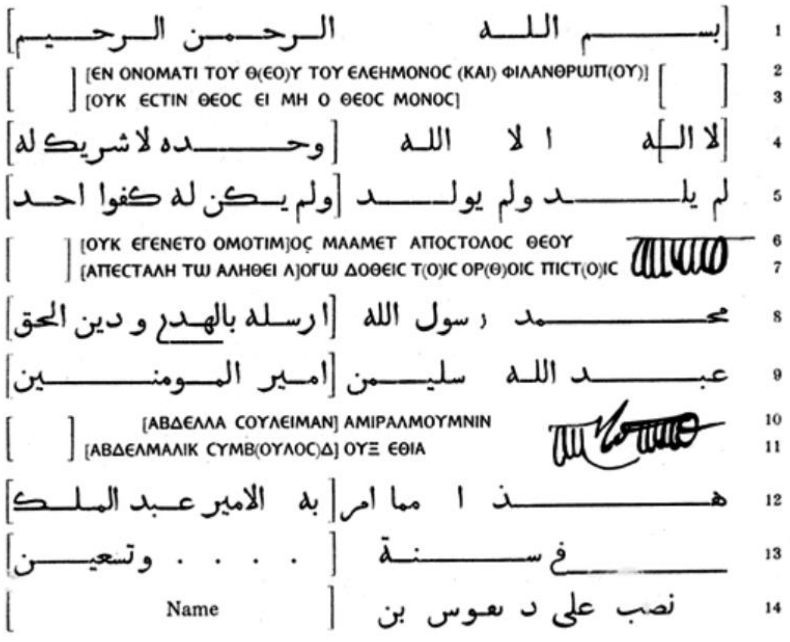
Location

Egyptian National Library, Cairo, Egypt.

Assalamu ʿalaykum wa rahamatullahi wa barakatuhu:



(a)



(b)

Figure: (a) Picture of the papyrus and (b) the content of the papyrus.

https://www.islamic-awareness.org/history/islam/papyri/perinv3976

Accession No.

PER Inv. Ar. Pap. 3976.

Contents

The translation of text is given below. The Arabic translation is in *italics*:

1. *[In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*
2. [In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]
3. [There is no god except God, who is One]
4. *[There is no go]d but God alone, and He has no associate.*
5. *He begets not, nor is He begotten [and He has none that is like unto Him]*
6. [ ] Maamet is the Apostle of God.
7. [ ] guidance and to true religion.
8. *Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, [He has sent him with guidance and true religion]*
9. *The servant of God Sulaymān, [Commander of the Faithful]*
10. [The servant of God Sulayman], Commander of the Faithful
11. this my letter comes into thee,
12. *This belongs to that which was decreed by [the Amīr ʿAbd al-Malik]*
13. *In the year... [and ninety]*
14. *?? son of ??*

Comments

This fragment mentions the names Umayyad caliph Al-Walīd and the governer Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Location

Austrian National Museum, Vienna.

Sapienza - Universita di Roma

ONE SCRIPT FOR TWO LANGUAGES: LATIN AND ARABIC IN AN EARLY ALLOGRAPHIC PAPYRUS
Author(s): Arianna D'Ottone Rambach and Dario Internullo
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ONE SCRIPT FOR TWO LANGUAGES: LATIN AND ARABIC IN AN EARLY ALLOGRAPHIC PAPYRUS*

Arianna D'Ottone Rambach** · Dario Internullo***

This contribution presents a unique papyrus letter in Latin script and Latin language and in Latin script and Arabic language that is possible to date, on palaeographic grounds, from the end of the 7th to the 9th century AD. This precious witness is examined under the historical, graphical, linguistic and cultural point of view and its provenance is discussed accordingly. An edition of the whole text is provided and a number of correspondences in Arabic are suggested.

Keywords: Latin, Arabic, papyrus, allography, correspondence

Within the frame of continuing research aiming at reviewing and studying the *corpus* of Latin documents written on papyrus during the early and high Middle Ages (5th-11th century), one of the two authors of this article, Dario Internullo, made a striking discovery at the British Library; he found a private epistle bearing a Latin-Arabic text in Latin letters. The identification of its content was not immediate and only with the help of the other author, Arianna D'Ottone Rambach, did the nature of the document become apparent. A first presentation of the papyrus was published by Internullo shortly afterwards, but only the Latin texts were discussed in that article.[1] On this occasion, and by combining the skills of a historian of medieval Latin culture with those of an Arabist, we are now able to offer a first complete edition of the text. Its main purpose is to lay the groundwork for still deeper studies, not only about this evidence, but also about the more general relationship between Latin culture and Arab culture during the Middle Ages, as well as the survival of Latin culture in the Islamic world.

* The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement n° 636983); ERC-PLATINUM project, University of Naples "Federico II". The sections made by Dario Internullo have been completed during a stay in Paris supported financially by UniNA and Compagnia di San Paolo, in the frame of Programme STAR. The authors are grateful to Jérôme Lentin (Emeritus - Paris, INALCO), Daniel König (University of Heidelberg) who read the draft of this text and provided us with many valuable suggestions, as well as the anonymous reviewers for their most useful comments. Thanks also to Stephen Conrad for correcting the English text.

** Sapienza, University of Rome
*** University of RomaTre - University of Naples "Federico II"

[1] Dario Internullo, *Un unicum per la storia della cultura. Su un papiro latinoarabo della British Library (P.Lond. inv. 3124)*, «Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge," cxxviii, 2, 2016; https://mefrm.revues.org/3233, also for details concerning the discovery.

https://doi.org/10.19272/201703814003 · Supplemento n. 1 «RSO · n. s.», xc, 2017

Fig. 1. (©) British Library Board, Papyrus 3124*r*.

letters, may suggest the 8th century as the more likely date; however, the plurilingual and multicultural nature of the document induces to approach this parallelism with caution.[7]

[7] Eva Mira Grob, *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus. Form and Function, Content and Context*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2010, p. 39-42 (but note that the Latin section is close to the formulary of the Arab letters).

III. The text (Dario Internullo)

Transcription[72]

Recto

+ innomined(omi)niiscribimusistaepistula (:) egosati (:) adtibe (:) ioh(ann)e
comosisanu(m)comodotecu(m) (÷) magnoteamabiles (:) dilec
tusamicusetfratres (:) ind(omi)nodiligotibisalutem
Comosisanu(m)comodotecu(m) (÷) d(omi)n(us)d(eu)sq(uod)tefaciasanu
senp(er)etsalbu (:) binnemiepistula (:) tuadetuasani
tated(omi)ne (:) tibi (:) gratiiaqu̧atusisanu(m) (.) uebamiņ
ci (:) eahi (:) uctubuli (:) bihabarį (:) elbida (:) sellimu (:) alla
bira miti (:) emin (:) ual (·) misec . n . minu (:) sadica (:) insalla
ubihabar (:) elmaracciba (:) u . ḥabạr (:) cu̧stantin (:) . (-)ff̣ .
u (:)'u̧' es . ala . ub . lạt . ạr . . . maḥ[. .]du (:) ucatạgamini (:) deli
cci (:) uç[. .]taradt . [. .] . . ạḍir (:) įllecibi (:) liccu(m) (:) uhabirini
aurani (:) ujelicci (:) amu̧run (:) bitiiti (:) utisati (:) illec . . įlina
ubisanicci (:) manadirtu (:) uạllimicciehi (:) atiimtuạ
illebitu (:) elmaga (:) dessi (:) insalla (:) iņhairilla (:) lenạ
filejil (:)(:) insalla (:) lebudu̧mian. minjerusale(m) (:) ualli
mį (:) maciteb . tu (:) ilicci (:) f . ama . . . sara (:) utruba (:) ạjaba
sabiti (:) elcitan (:) ale (:) ebina (:) . ç . . . . ḅuicitebu (:) illecusta
ntin (:) umandau̧li (:) allim . . . . uamili (:) bira . cçi (:) ubi
matirit .] insalla . . . . u̧habar . . (:) u̧bi
macitebi . tu (:) iliccu̧ . . . . essala (:) citirạ (:)
ucali (:) icr . . çi (:) essalạ . u̧ḥạir . . . . essala (:) essala(m) ma
licci (:)

5 blank space after *binnemi* || **8** after *misec*, perhaps an interpunction sign || **9** after *custantin (:)*, a letter resembling *q*, but which could be *ʒ* with abbreviation sign || **12** *illec . . įlina*: perhaps *illeciḅịlina* || **15** *lebadu̧mian . :* perhaps *i* or an interpunction sign *(:)* follows || **16** trace of ink after *maciteb*: probably an interpunction sign | *f . ama*: perhaps *fįama* || **18** after *bira*, perhaps *i* || **19** the traces after *u̧habar* could belong to *i* and *c* (*u̧habaric*) || **20** after *macitebi* traces of a long vertical stroke || **21** *icr . . çi*: perhaps *icriççi*; after *essalạ*, perhaps an interpunction sign

Verso

įllẹab . . . icciri (:) ạtįualla (:) (:) minsatimulea (:)
ioh(an)neibįli . . sabi (:) ibinbaba (:) biti (:) ibinminsuru (:)

1 the line begins with a sign, composed by five dots arranged in cross shape || **2** *ioh(an)neibịli*: perhaps *u* follows

[72] Those words for which it has been possible to give an equivalent in Arabic are highlighted in grey, see below. In the transcription, the *j* reproduces the letter *i* in the long form. Accordingly, the use of *j* – e.g. *jerusale(m)* (l. 15) – has been rendered in Arabic with a letter *jīm*, see below. Interpunction signs are enclosed with round brackets, in order to avoid confusion with the dot which mark an uncertain letter.

Latin text and translation

[1] + *In nomine Domini iscribimus ista epistula, ego Sati ad tibe Iohanne.* |[2] *Como si sanum? Comodo tecum? Magno te amabiles, dilec*|[3]*tus amicus, et fratres in Domino diligo: tibi salutem.* |[4] *Como si sanum? Comodo tecum? Dominus Deus quod te facia sanu*|[5] *senper et salbu. Binne mi epistula tua de tua sani*|[6]*tate: Domine tibi gratia, qua tu si sanum.*

"+ In the name of the Lord, I, Sati, write this letter to you, Iohanne. How are you? How are you doing? I greet you, my dear friend, and your brothers[73] with friendship, in the name of the Lord. How are you? How are you doing? May God, our Lord, keep you safe and sound forever. A letter about your good health reached me: I thank God, because you are safe."

III-a. Suggested readings (Arianna D'Ottone Rambach)

Recto

l. 6	O brother	eahi (:)	ياخي
l. 7	write me	uctubuli (:)	اكتبوا لي
l. 7	with news of the merchandise	bihabarį (:) elbida (:)	بخبر البضاعة
l. 7	give my greetings to	sellimu (:) alla[74]	سلّم ا على
l. 8	Amen	emin (:)	امين
l. 8	the poor ones	ual (·) misec . n	والمساكين
l. 8	if God wills	insalla	ان شاء الله
l. 9	and with news of the ships [?]	ubihabar (:) elmaracciba (:)	وبخبر المراكب [?]
l. 9	And with news of Constantin	u . ḥabạr (:) cu̧stantin (:)	وبخبر قسطنطين
ll. 10-11	That	deli / cci (:)	ذلك
l. 11	inform me	uhabirini	وخبّريني
l. 12	you received an order	u̧jelicci (:) amu̧run (:)	وجاء لك أمر

[73] *fratres* could be also a scribal mistake: in this case, the proper meaning of the *iunctura* should be "my dear friend and brother". The formula with "brother" is indeed very frequent among Arabic letters: cf. Grob, *Documentary Arabic Private and Business* cit.

[74] But an alternative reading of the sequence: *sellimu alla bira matihi* can be سلمه الله برحمته. In this case the assumption is made the like the letter *'ayn* also the other laringal letter *ḥā'* – was not noted.

l. 12	Sāṭi'	sati (:)	ساطع
l. 12	To us	įlina	إلينا
l. 13	as for you	u̧bisanicci (:)	وبشانك
l. 13	and I inform you of it	uạllimicciehi (:)	اعلمك يا ها
l. 14	otherwise I sold	illebitu (:)	والا بعت
l. 14	this thing	Dessi	ذا الشيء
l. 14	if God wills	insalla (:)	إن شاء الله
l. 14	to us	lenạ	لنا
l. 15	to some of them, that is from Jerusalem	lebadu̧mian(i) miņjerusale(m) (:)	لبعضهم يعني من جروسل
ll. 15-16	inform (of)	ualli / mį (:)	وعلم
l. 16	what I am writing you / what I wrote to you	maciteb . tu (:) ilicci (:)	ما كتبت إليك
l. 17	the linen	elcitan (:)	الكتان
l. 17	they write	uicitebu (:)	ويكتبوا
ll. 17-18	to Constantin	illecusta / ntin (:)	إلى قسطنطين
l. 18	Act according to your judgment	uamili (:) bira . cçi (:)	واعمل برأيك
ll. 18-19	And to your wish	ubi / matirit	وبما تريد/تريت[75]
ll. 19-20	With what I wrote you	u̧bi / macitebi . tu (:)iliccu̧	وبما كتبت إليكم
l. 20	many greetings	essala (:) citirạ (:)	السلام كثيرًا
ll. 21-22	Peace be upon you	essala (:) essala(m) ma licci (:)	السلام عليك

Verso

l. 1	From Sāṭi'	(:) minsati	من ساطع
l. 2	House of Ibn Manṣūr	biti (:) ibinminsuru (:)	بيت ابن منصور
l. 2	Son of	ibinbaba (:)	ابن بابا

[75] With *tā'* instead of *dāl*.

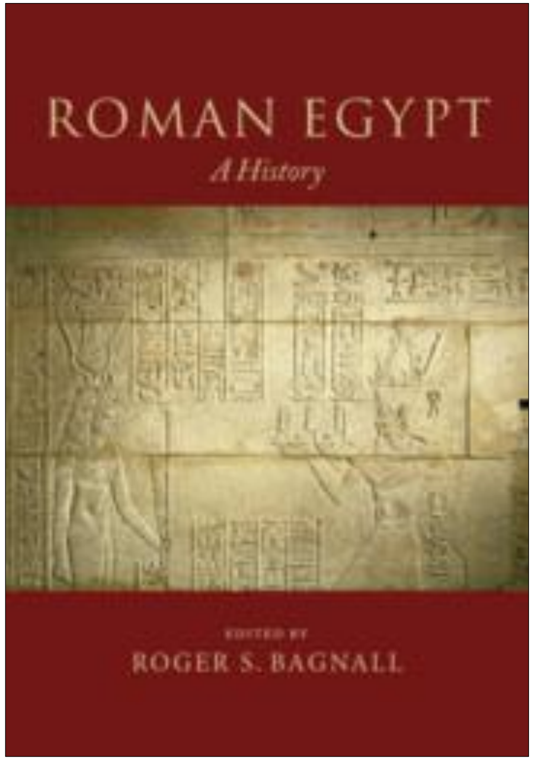

Figure 6.8.1 Bilingual tax demand, Aphrodito, 709
Like the document in Figure 6.3.1, this is bilingual and concerns taxation. In the intervening six decades, however, with the establishment of a stable polity in Egypt, much has changed. The sum demanded here is part of regular taxation, not an extraordinary levy, and the document was produced in the governor's chancery in Fusṭāṭ, not on the spot. Even though it is still bilingual, the Arabic text now comes before the Greek one. *P.Heid.* inv. Arab 13r.

of the administrative structure itself, since most of the lower positions were held by locals, whose working language in administrative matters was Greek. Little by little, Arabic gained ground in this area, as Muslims began to be appointed to the lower positions from the early eighth century. Scholars have generally seen this linguistic shift as the direct result of

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decisions under ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd intended to Arabicize and unify the administration of the Caliphate. The existing evidence, however, shows that there was little change in language use under both those Caliphs, and even under their immediate successors. We do encounter individuals with Muslim names in positions such as pagarch, but it is not clear whether they were converted locals or Arabs appointed centrally – and therefore, whether their first language was Arabic. Thus, even though Arabic documents become more numerous, the use of Greek alongside Arabic in administrative contexts was common until the mid-eighth century.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, the Arabicization of administrative documents accelerated considerably, and by the end of the eighth century there are hardly any Greek documents produced at all. This change indicates that Arabic was increasingly employed among the local population, as the representatives of village communities had to use it in their dealings with the district administrators. In the early eighth century the village representatives drew up documents in Coptic addressed to their administrators, who understood it because of their local origin. Although the then governor Qurra b. Sharīk (709–715) accepted the practice it did not work with non-native local administrators, thus creating a need for Arabic speakers in each community to serve as mediators and interpreters.

The exclusive use of Arabic by the chancery also meant that members of the local elites with ambitions of rising in the administrative structure needed to learn Arabic. Much as was true of Greek from the early Ptolemaic period onward, Arabic became a means of upward social mobility for ambitious locals. By the tenth century, an Egyptian Christian with good Arabic could have a career in government service. The most famous example in Egypt is the tenth-century theologian and bishop of Hermopolis Severus b. al-Muqaffaʿ, who started out as *kātib* (secretary) in the administration under the name Abū al-Bishr. The Christian ʿĪsā ibn Nasṭūrus (994–996) was also among the early viziers of the Fāṭimids in Egypt. From his writings, we know that Severus mastered Arabic, an important competence that must have been refined during his years in the administration. This was probably true of other Copts in government service, and indicates that al-Muqaddasī's statement regarding tenth-century Syria was also true for Egypt: Christians were employed in great numbers in the administration because their Arabic was very good.

The increase of Arabic in the administration quickly gave it the status of *lingua franca* for all economic activity, reinforced by the gradual settlement

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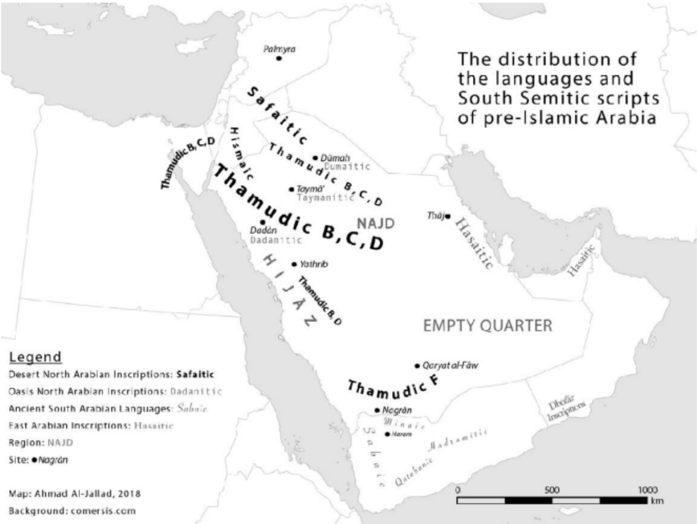
A Manual of the Historical Grammar of Arabic

Notes on key issues in phonology, morphology, and syntax

Ahmad Al-Jallad

Version 2020-1

Draft for classroom use; check back for regular updates



Map 4: Epigraphic Map of Pre-Islamic Arabia (Al-Jallad 2018b)

It is unclear when and under which circumstances Arabic replaced these languages as a vernacular. Since Arabic seems to have taken root first in urban centers across the Peninsula, it is possible that the language diffused outwards from oases and towns, replacing the non-Arabic Semitic languages of the nomads, or that the language was spread by migrations of nomadic populations from the north, who assimilated the pre-existing tribes of these areas.

In the early 7th c. CE, Arabic, and more precisely the Arabic of the Ḥigāz, was catapulted onto the world stage. The once triumphant Nabataean Arabic yielded in the face of the Conquest's momentum. At the town of Nessana, in the Negev, we can witness the reunion of the old Nabataean dialect with its forgotten sibling in the Greek transcriptions of the 7th c. CE. By the end of the 7th c. CE, no trace of the older Nabataean vernacular is to be found.[11]

[11] On the Arabic of Nessana, see Isserlin 1969; Al-Jallad 2017b, 2017a.

These new forms of Arabic were the vernaculars of the elites of the Arab Conquests and the language of Islam's scriptures. Indeed, the Qur'an proclaims itself to be in *ʿarabī* 'Arabic', in order for its audience to understand.[12] Much like the spread of Arabic across the Peninsula in Nabataean times, following the Conquests, Arabic was established in urban centers across the Umayyad state, and slowly diffused outwards to rural areas. Waves of later migrations over the centuries, both local and long distance, spread Arabic far beyond the urban enclaves of Islam's first century. At the same time, a new kind of linguistic competition emerged. Different Peninsular Arabic dialects vied for prestige -- the Ḥigāzī vernacular of the Umayyad elites, as attested in early Islamic papyri, Greek transcriptions from this period, and indeed the Qur'anic Consonantal Text itself, was confronted by the artistic dialect of the pre-Islamic odes, the language of which seems to have had roots in the dialects of south-central Arabia. The prestige of the Qaṣīdah, which had become the medium of royal panegyrics in Umayyad times, seems to have given it an edge, and by the 8th century, even Qur'anic reading traditions inclined towards this register. In this period, a robust grammatical and lexicographical tradition evolved to document Arabics that were in-line with the norms of the Qaṣīdah, canonizing forever prescriptive notions of what 'correct' Arabic should be.

This linguistic melting pot produced the Arabophone word we know today -- the myriad of vernaculars and the literary language of Islamicate culture, Classical Arabic.

0.2.1 Mythologies of Arabic's past

There are numerous mythological accounts of Arabic's pre-history in Islamic-period sources. By the Abbasid period, Arabic had achieved supernatural status; the practical sense of *ʕarabiyyun mubīnun* - a message in the everyday language that could be understood - had been replaced by the notion that the Arabic language itself was sacrosanct and proof of the Qur'an divine message. And as such Arabic acquired a sacred history. It became the ur-language of mankind, a divine mode of communication revealed to prophets by angels, an antediluvian tongue first spoken by Adam and preserved by ancient giants following the confusion of languages at Babel. Such

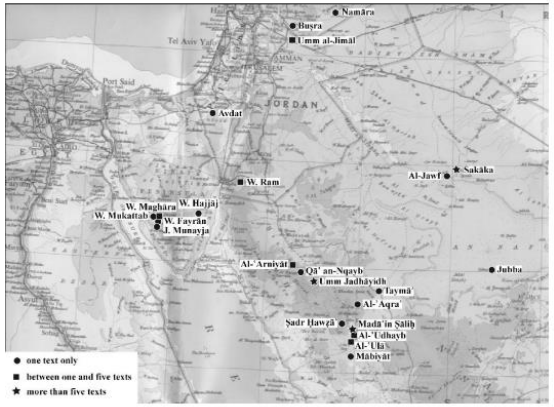
[12] Qur'an 12:2: *ʔinnā ʔanzalnā-h qurānā ʕarabiyyā laʕallakum taʕqilūn* (in reconstructed Old Ḥigāzī).

The competition of Arabics, so to speak, continued for the first few centuries CE, but by the 4th c. CE, one script and writing tradition had prevailed -- Nabataean. Indeed, in this century, the Namarah epitaph (328 CE) of the self-proclaimed *malk ʔal-ʕarab koll-ah* 'king of all the Arabs', Marʔalqays BAR ʕamro, set in stone the first truly monumental Arabic-language text in the Nabataean script.[8] The events recorded in this document -- Marʔalqays' battles against Asad, Nizār, Maʕadd, and Maḏḥiğ -- mark the first appearance of the legendary tribal groups documented in Islamic-period sources.

The Namarah Inscription (wiki commons)

In northwest Arabia, the Nabataean script began to exhibit innovative letter shapes, leading towards the Arabic script proper. This phase of the script, spanning from the 3rd to the 5th centuries CE, is called by scholars Nabataeo-Arabic. By this period the Ancient North Arabian scripts seem to have disappeared and Nabataeo-Arabic is the exclusive epigraphic witness to the Arabic language, save for transcriptions of anthroponyms in Greek and Aramaic.

[8] For the latest edition of this text, see Macdonald in Fiema et al. 2015.



Mape 3: Geographical distribution of transitional script (Nehmé 2010)

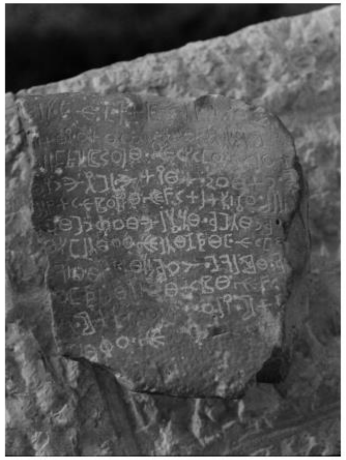
Nabataeo-Arabic inscription, 428 CE, Sakaka = S1 (Nehmé 2010)

By the late 5th c. CE, the Arabic script, as we know it, appears for the first time in the epigraphic record. Inscriptions on a trade route north of Nagrān (Bīr Ḥimà), likely produced by travellers from the north, attest a number of Arabic anthroponyms in the fully evolved Arabic script. In the 6th c. CE, the script is also attested in the northern Ḥigāz, Dūmat al-Jandal, and Syria, indicating that Arabic, by this period, had spread widely across the Arabian Peninsula, replacing, at least in writing, the pre-Arabic Semitic languages of the Ḥigāz and North Arabia.

It is unclear when Arabic first penetrates south-west Arabia (modern-day Yemen). By the end of the 1st millennium BCE, inscriptions from the northern Yemeni frontier, the

Safaitic inscription from NE Jordan (Al-Jallad 2017b)

Hismaic: The Hismaic inscriptions range from the area of Madaba in central Jordan to northwest Arabia, around Tabuk. The published corpus consists of around 3700 texts, most of which contain only personal names and short phrases. A few longer inscriptions are known from the Madaba region and these reveal a language strikingly similar to Classical Arabic, both in terms of grammar and stylistics.



Hismaic Votive inscription from Madaba region (Zwettler and Graf 2004)

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	Zoroastrianism ***(Ahura mazda – Fire altar)*** **Title:** Dirham of Sasanian Type **Date:** 693/694 **Geography:** Made in Damascus Inscription: On obverse: Pahlavi inscriptions around portrait: Khusrau, may his glory increase; in Arabic, in margin: ***In the name of God. There is no God but God Alone; Muhammad is the prophet of God***; on reverse, in Arabic, left and right: [year] seventy-four; Dimashq [Damascus] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/479441
	Judaism ***(Menorah)*** **Umayyad Caliphate** Circa AD 696/7-750. Æ Fals (15mm, 2.86 g, 11h). Iliya (Jerusalem) mint. Five-branched candelabra with horizontal bar on top; vertical stem with two leaves at mid-height; "***There is no god but Allah alone***" around / "***Muhammad is Allah's messenger***" in three lines; https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=242422
	Christian ***(Ixoye – Ikhtus)*** **Umayyad Caliphate** Palestine: Anonymous (738+ AD) Obv: Within looped square inside circle, لا إله إلا الله وحده ("***There is no god but Allah alone***") Rev: Within looped square inside circle, fish left; on three sides around from above, محمد رسول الله ("***Muhammad is the apostle of Allah***") https://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-112539

The Umayyad Caliphate

https://davidmus.dk/islamis...

← Previous item   Next item →

The Umayyad Caliphate – Sufianid line, c. 41-64 H/661-684 AD

General Information

Dynasty
The Umayyad Caliphate – Sufianid line, c. 41-64 H/661-684 AD

The Umayyad Caliphate

https://davidmus.dk/islamisk-s...

3.13 g

Dimension
19.0 mm

Inventory No.
C 4

Legend & Design

Obverse

Field
Figure of standing Byzantine emperor holding sceptre and globus
downwards on left: *bism allah*
"in the name of God"

Reverse

Field
capital M with cross above, the mint name EMESA in Greek retrograde (backwards),
below: *tayyib*
"good"

Historical Note

This coin can hardly be described as "Islamic", for it bears so many of the Christian symbols that were firmly rejected by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, with the help of al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf, in the Umayyad reform coinage which was introduced in 77 H (696-697 AD).

The standing figure is that of the Byzantine emperor Constans II (641-668/20-48), wearing a long robe, with a prominent cross above his head. In his right hand he holds a cruciform sceptre, and in his left a globus surmounted by a cross.

https://davidmus.dk/islamisk-samling/umayyaderne/coin/29

MBRAS
THE MALAYSIAN BRANCH OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

An early Malay Inscription from Trengganu

Author(s): H. S. Paterson

Source: *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, December 1924, Vol. 2, No. 3 (92) (December 1924), pp. 252-258

Published by: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41559588

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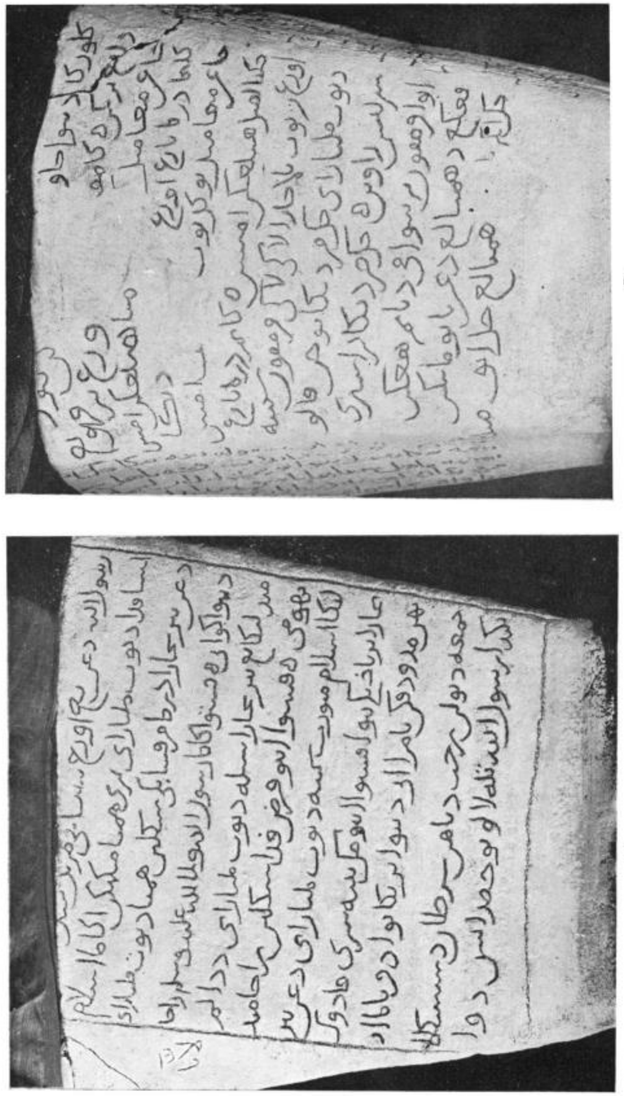

B.

A.

TRENGGANU INSCRIPTION.

while the expression employed for the Deity seems to be simply a translation of the Arabic "Allah subhanahu wa taala."

The evidence, in fact, leads inevitably to the conclusion that this represents the promulgation of a new religion in language adapted to the understanding of a population educated only in Hinduistic religious terms.

The period of the inscription is one in which Islam was slowly but surely displacing the older religious beliefs of the Malays. That it should have succeeded in its earlier stages is a tribute to the persistence of Arab traders and missionaries who can never have been sufficiently numerous to impose their beliefs by the forcible methods which they employed in the conquest of the western parts of Asia. In the Malay Peninsula they have completely and utterly substituted their own writing for that of the Hindu period, though Islam has not even yet succeeded in wiping out the pagan superstitions of the uneducated peasant classes.

The text may be read roughly as follows, the doubtful parts being in italics:—

A.

1. Rasul Allah dĕngan yang orang. . . .*bagi* mĕreka. . . . .
2. ada pada Dewata Mulia Raya bĕri hamba mĕnĕgohkan ugama Islam.
3. dĕngan bĕnar bichara dĕrma mĕraksa bagi sakalian hamba Dewata Mulia Raya
4. di-bĕnua-ku ini *pĕnĕntu* ugama Rasul Allah salla'llahu 'alaihi wa sallama Raja
5. mandalika yang bĕnar bichara sa-bĕlah Dewata Mulia Raya didalam
6. bĕhumi. Pĕnĕntua itu fardzu pada sakalian Raja manda-
7. -lika Islam mĕnurut sa-titah Dewata Mulia Raya dĕngan bĕnar.
8. bichara bĕrbajiki bĕnua pĕnĕntua itu maka titah Sĕri Paduka
9. Tuhan mĕdudokkan tamra ini di-bĕnua Trĕnganu adi-pĕrtama ada
10. Juma'at di-bulan Rĕjab di-tahun sarathan di-sasanakala
11. Baginda Rasul Allah tĕlah lalu tujoh ratus dua

B.

1. kĕluarga di-bĕnua jauh. . . . .*kan*. . . . . .*ul*
2. *datang* bĕrikan. Kĕĕmp-(at dĕrma barang)• orang bĕrpi-hutang
3. jangan mengambil *k*. . . . . .(a)mbil hilangkan ĕmas
4. kĕlima dĕrma barang orang. . . . .(*mĕr*) deka
5. jangan mĕngambil *tugal buat* *t* ĕmas-nya
6. jika ia ambil hilangkan ĕmas. Kĕĕnam dĕrma barang
7. orang bĕrbuat balachara laki laki pĕrĕmpuan sa-*titah*
8. Dewata Mulia Raya jika mĕrdeka bujan palu
9. sa-ratus rautan. Jika mĕrdeka bĕristĕri
10. atawa pĕrĕmpuan bĕrsuami di-tanam hinggan

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HERITAGE OF NUSANTARA

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Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia

449). The inscription also shows that there was already a written tradition in Terengganu (Hashim, 1991: 2). The Terengganu inscription records a decree by a Muslim sovereign who promulgated Islamic law for his subject (Drewes, 2001: 143). This decree suggests that the "King" was quite eager to introduce and disseminate his new faith.

Photo 1: Four inscribed sides of the stone of Terengganu Inscription.

Photo 2: The Terengganu Inscription is now in the National Museum of Terengganu.

The inscription contains 29 Sanskrit words and 10 Arabic words (Paterson, 1924: 254). It is divided into three parts: 1) a preamble; 2) a list of the laws to be enacted; and 3) a conclusion. Some parts of the text are illegible, but there is a photograph of the whole inscription. The first transliteration was made by Paterson (Paterson, 1924: 255-256), who translated the inscription from *Jawi* to Latin characters. However, we argue that Paterson's transliteration is not fully accurate nor is it complete, as he misses the meanings of a few words.

Below is arguably a more accurate and complete transliteration of the inscription:

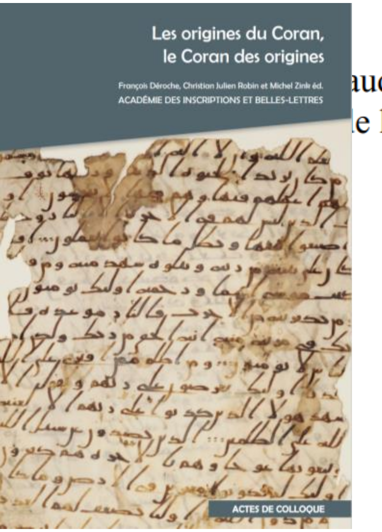
A

1. Rasul Allah dengan yang orang…bagi mereka salam
2. ada pada Dewata Mulia Raya beri hamba meneguhkan agama Islam
3. dengan benar bicara derma meraksa bagi sekalian hamba Dewata Mulia Raya.
4. di-benua-ku ini penentu ugama Rasul Allah sallallahu 'alaihi wasallam raja
5. Mandalika yang benar bichara sa-belah Dewata Mulia Raya di dalam
6. behumi. Penentua itu fardzu pada sakalian raja manda
7. –lika Islam menurut sa-titah Dewata Mulia Raya dengan benar.
8. bichara berbajiki benua penentua itu maka titah Seri Paduka
9. Tuhan medudukkan tamra ini di benua Tringganu di pertama ada
10. Juma'at di bulan Rejab di tahun sarthan disasanakala
11. Baginda Rasul Allah telah lalu tujuh ratus dua

B

1. keluarga di benua jauh…kan…*nur*
2. datang berikan. Keempa …orang berpihutang
3. jangan mengambil …(*a*)mbil hilangkan emas
4. kelima derma barang orang…(*mer*) deka
5. jangan mengambil tugal buat…t…emas
6. jika ia ambil hilangkan emas. Keenam derma barang
7. orang berbuat balachara laki-laki perempuan sa-titah
8. Dewata Mulia Raya jika merdeka bujan palu
9. seratus rautan. Jika merdeka beristeri
10. atawa perempuan bersuami di-tanam hingga
11. pinggang di-hembalang dengan batu matikan

Quran



uquel les inscriptions (des documents servant avant tout à la
e leurs auteurs) et les ouvrages savants ne s'intéressaient pas.

Christian Julien Robin

*

* *

APPENDICE

Les manuscrits coraniques en écriture ḥijāzite de Ṣanʿāʾ : quelques datations

Cinq échantillons prélevés à Ṣanʿāʾ sur des feuillets coraniques (dans le cadre du projet ANR « De l'Antiquité tardive à l'Islam », DATI) ont fait l'objet d'une datation par l'analyse du radiocarbone 14 au Centre de Datation par le Radiocarbone de Lyon. La marge statistique indiquée est la déviation standard (1 sigma), c'est-à-dire qu'elle définit un intervalle dans lequel l'âge radiocarbone exact a deux chances sur trois de se trouver. Pour avoir une quasi-certitude (environ 95 %), il faut doubler cette marge statistique. Les résultats obtenus sont les suivants :

Feuillet	*Code laboratoire*	*Âge caliber*
01-25-1 fol. 22 (S. 41 / 2)	Lyon-6044 (SacA 15618)	de 543 à 643 è. chr.
01-27-1 fol. 2 (S. 6 / 159)	Lyon-6042 (SacA 15616)	de 543 à 643 è. chr.
01-27-1 fol. 11 (S. 20 / 74)	Lyon-6043 (SacA 15617)	de 433 à 599 è. chr.
01-27-1 fol. 13 (S. 21 / 72)	Lyon-6045 (SacA 15619)	de 388 à 535 è. chr. [133]
01-29-1 fol. 8 (S. 5 / 45)	Lyon-6041 (SacA 15615)	de 439 à 606 è. chr. (maximum de probabilité : de 530 à 605)
01-29-1 fol. 13 (S. 14 / 24)	Lyon-6040 (SacA 15614)	de 603 à 662 è. chr.

II. CODEX DAM 01-25.1 FROM ṢANʿĀʾ, YEMEN

(a)

Figure 5: Folios of Codex DAM 01-25.1.

Palaeographically, this *ḥijāzī* manuscript is datable to 1st century AH. Folio 22 of this manuscript was subject to radiocarbon analysis under the auspices of the ANR Project "De l'Antiquité tardive à l'Islam" (DATI, headed by Christian Robin) at the Centre de Datation par le Radiocarbone de Lyon, and has been radiocarbon dated to 543–643 CE with 95% probability.[26]

[26] C. J. Robin, "L'Arabie Dans Le Coran. Réexamen De Quelques Termes À La Lumière Des Inscriptions Préislamiques", in F. Déroche, C. J. Robin & M. Zink (*Eds.*), *Les Origines Du Coran, Le Coran Des Origines*, 2015, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Paris, p. 65.

https://www.islamic-awareness.org/quran/text/mss/radio

Mobilities of Science: The Era of Translation into Arabic

Scott L. Montgomery, *University of Washington*

Abstract: Scientific knowledge is transferred, or mobilized, between cultures through the process of translation. One of the largest episodes of such transfer took place between the eighth and the eleventh centuries during the Abbasid Caliphate. Four sources of scientific knowledge were brought into the Arabic language: Greek (Byzantium), Syriac (Eastern Christian cities), Pahlavia (Persia), and Sanskrit (India). The focus was on Greek science, mathematics, and medicine, along with Aristotelian philosophy, with translation supported by the caliphs and much of urban society. Motives were complex and multifold, related to ideas of utility, political consolidation, and building a superior society. Results of the translation movement varied enormously and are sometimes difficult to characterize, combining material from several or more generations and languages. Certain texts of huge influence cast serious doubt on modern ideas about translation, its process, and its products. Important questions emerge, not only about what may be lost and gained in any translation activity but about how to conceive the profound role of this activity in the larger history of science.

THE MOBILITY OF SCIENCE

If knowledge may be considered a mobile form of culture, then science has surely been among its more peripatetic children. Scientific knowledge has often been mobilized by the work of translators, who therefore appear to be essential, if often invisible, agents in the sharing and growth of such knowledge. Those who labor today in the vales of science translation rarely view themselves in such a light. Yet only a slight shift in perspective is needed to see them as part of a vast transfer of valued material around the globe. Extending this picture over decades, it becomes evident that enormous amounts of knowledge can be moved between languages and cultures.

In fact, the current period is far from unique in this way. The historical record shows that such episodes have taken place at a number of times in the premodern past and in different parts of the world, with momentous effects on the development of science.[1] One of the most

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[1] Two such episodes, involving translation into Arabic and into Latin, are nicely covered in David Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 2008), Chs. 8 and 9. More detailed discussion can be found in

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775 C.E.) and continuing for multiple generations, a systematic program of sending translators to identified textual centers was pursued. This not only involved an effort to find specific works, whether Aristotle's *Metaphysics* or Euclid's *Elements*, but to compare different versions in order to find the most complete, comprehensible text to use. As expressed by Hunayn ibn Ishaq (809–873 C.E.), the most prolific of the translators, such painstaking work was necessary both for creating usable translations and for establishing official versions of a text for research. Highly regarded in his own time and afterward for his rendering of Galen's writings, his own books on medicine, and his eloquent Arabic, Hunayn declared that overly close renderings of any Greek or Syriac text would be unusable.[5] The approach needed to be intelligent, flexible.[6]

The Arabic language was shy of much technical terminology. Many new words and expressions had to be invented or adopted. Accommodating material from Greek, Syriac, Persian, and Sanskrit meant that Arabic itself had to change, and it did so in complex ways. While Syriac, as a Semitic tongue, shared aspects of grammar and syntax with Arabic far more than did Greek, Arabic-speaking scholars working in the sciences borrowed and calqued many more terms and phrases from Greek and Pahlavi and made grammatical adjustments to accommodate them. This was perhaps due to the higher status these languages enjoyed—especially Greek, as the "original" language of the relevant knowledge. Yet material from all of these, and Sanskrit as well, flowed into Arabic, transforming what had largely been a regional nomadic tongue into a vehicle of advanced science and medicine.

WHO WERE THE TRANSLATORS AND WHAT DID THEY TRANSLATE?

Hunayn and his coworkers, like a significant number of translators, were Nestorian Christians. Hunayn himself, for example, was a physician from Basra before becoming a translator in Baghdad. The Nestorian translators usually grew up knowing Syriac and Arabic, some of them acquiring Greek later on, while others from communities further east learned Pahlavi. This meant that, in many cases, the path to Arabic had either one or two stages—from Syriac directly or from Greek to Syriac and then Syriac to Arabic. At the same time, translators also included non-Muslim Sabians, Persians, and Hindus. There were, of course, many important Muslim scholars involved in the movement—for example, Al-Kindi (801–873), around whom a group of scholars and students formed to pursue translation and study of the "foreign sciences." There were also others, like Al-Khwarizmi (ca. 780–850), who used paraphrase rather than real translation. As the "foreign sciences" became known, taught, and used as a basis for new scientific works, early translations of difficult texts, such as Ptolemy's *Almagest*,[7] were redone by scholars who more fully understood the contents. Such retranslation, in fact, is a key indicator of how these works had be-

[5] Basic information about this great translator can be found in Gotthard Strohmaier, "Hunayn ibn Ishaq," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 3rd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2017), available at BrillOnline Reference Works, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/hunayn-b-ishaq-COM_30560?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.encyclopaedia-of-islam-3&s.q=Hunayn+ibn+Ishaq. Discussion of Hunayn's translation methods is given by Sebastian Brock, "The Syriac Background to Hunayn's Translation Techniques," *Aram*, 1991, 3:139–162. A translation of Hunayn's own commentary on translating Galen has been done by John Lamoreaux: *Hunayn ibn Ishaq on His Galen Translations* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young Univ., 2016).

[6] Some of these challenges are discussed by Elaheh Kheirandish, "The Arabic 'Version' of Euclidean Optics: Transformations as Linguistic Problems in Transmission," in *Translation, Transmission, Transformation*, ed. Ragep and Ragep (cit. n. 3), pp. 227–246. See also Roshdi Rashed, "Problems of the Transmission of Greek Scientific Thought into Arabic: Examples from Mathematics and Optics," *History of Science*, 1989, 27:199–209.

[7] The original title of this enormously influential work, written in the second century C.E., was *Mathematike Syntaxis*. The name *Almagest* represents a corruption in Arabic of the Greek word "*mageste*," meaing "greatest."

come elements of a shared intellectual culture focused on understanding and probing the natural world.

All of this work had a political context, as well as a cultural one. Abbasid caliphs, wishing to solidify their power in Persia, adopted the role of the Sassanid ruler as an enlightened patron of the arts and sciences, whose court also supported and encouraged intellectual activity. As noted by F. Jamil Ragep, some motive may also have come from the desire to outshine Byzantine emperors, "who were viewed as having allowed the glorious Hellenistic intellectual tradition to deteriorate to the point of nonexistence."[8] This kind of interpretation is supported by the type and level of financial support given to translators and their work. Support, that is, began at the top, with the early Abbasid caliphs devoting sizable resources to translation and related scholarship. Princes and members of the caliph's retinue followed suit, and this grew to include wealthy members of society such as civil and military leaders, merchants, bankers, and others. Translation became the core of a sociopolitical and even status movement in Baghdad and other major cities.

As already suggested, scientific, mathematical, and medical works of all kinds formed the main corpus brought into Arabic. This naturally included astrology and alchemy, which had also been adopted by Persian society under Sassanid rulers. Another focus was Greek philosophy. Considerable effort was expended to translate the entire corpus of Aristotle's works, which embraced ethics, metaphysics, and logic, as well as many aspects of natural history. The translators also rendered books on music and an array of practical subjects, like military science, engineering, agriculture, and falconry. They saw profit in handbooks that Greek authors had sometimes written to summarize certain areas of thought for students, plus commentaries with opinions and clarifications, such as the *Isagoge* by Porphyry, which deals with Aristotelian logic. That these kinds of works, too, were selected reveals a discerning, well-informed perspective on the part of patrons and translators, who surely wanted the fruits of their labors to find reward in use.[9]

Reasons for the primary interest in science are not entirely clear. The Arabs were hardly lacking in forms of understanding about the heavens, the desert, the biology of animals, aspects of botany, and much else. Persian society, meanwhile, had adopted some Greek and Indian works, though it certainly had its own traditions of nature knowledge as well. The perceived need for Greek, Syriac, Persian, and Indian scientific material seems related to immediate utility (astrology, medicine, engineering) and challenges of considerable importance, like determining the *qibla* for prayer (the direction of the Kaaba in Mecca). For this purpose, astronomy and mathematics in the form of spherical geometry were needed. Beyond this were ideas about what defined a superior, cultured society that deserved its place above any other empire or region.[10]

"TRANSLATION"—THE RIGHT TERM?

Even from these brief comments it is evident that "translation" counts as a rather weak and inadequate term to describe what actually took place. Mobilizing the knowledge of Greek, Syriac, Persian, and Hindu science and medicine employed a multitude of processes, ranging from direct and indirect translation—that is, translation from an original source or from a rendering of it in another language—to the partial or entire rewriting of a source. Even such a span fails to capture the striking diversity of methods, several of which were very often in play

[8] Ragep, "Islamic Culture and the Natural Sciences" (cit. n. 2), p. 36.

[9] Good discussion of this topic can be found in a number of works, such as Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* (cit. n. 3); more detail is provided by Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

[10] Ragep, "Islamic Culture and the Natural Sciences" (cit. n. 2), has some excellent comments along these same lines.